EVOLUTION OF INDIAN POLITY

ELV.

R. SHAMA SASTRI, B.A., M.R.A.S., Consess, Government Courter Laurent, Mysone, Precional Legisland to Provide Manages Classes Courter University



UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA 1920

RAMA YARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE

8 11071930

H. 128.





EVOLUTION OF INDIAN POLITY



EVOLUTION OF INDIAN POLITY

RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUT TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE. B. NOV1930

BY

R. SHAMA SASTRI, B.A., M.R.A.S., CURATOR, GOVERNMENT OBTENTAL LIBRART, MYROHE, PERMONCAL LECTI AND IN POST-GRADUATE CLASSES, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA-1920 AT THE CALCUTTA DESCRIPTIVE PAGE, SENATE HOUSE, CALCOTTA

The Hon'ble Dr. Sir ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, Serasvati, Sastra-Vachaspati, Sambuddhagama-. Chakravarti.

Founder of Post-Graduate studies in the
Calcutta University
which have been the most powerful academical
incentive to original thought in India
of Modern times,

the following pages are dedicated,
as an humble tribute of unbounded admiration
for his Catholicity of heart and head knowing
no limitations of colour, creed, or caste in
welcoming knowledge from every
quarter and in encouraging learning in the poorest cottages as
well as in the proudest
palaces.

by

the grateful Author.



न सन्ति दोवा विगुवा गुवा वा न सन्ति दोवानपहाय काव्ये। गुवाः प्रशानः प्रभवन्तु बोर्ले पतन्तु दोवा सस सूर्ध्वे बाटम् ॥ इति प्रशास्त्रेऽत्र 'सर्' याश्चतोयसुखार्यनान्त्रे क्रतिरपितेयम्। ततिस्त्रमानासिव निगुवापि सदाशतोवाय नुघाहताऽस्तु ॥

TRANSLATION OF THE VERSES

In no work are there defects without merits or merits without defects. Let the merits be to the credit of the Impirer; and let the defects heavily fall on my own head.

Thus this work, dedicated to the Impierr, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, may prove acceptable to the learned and for the pleasure of the good (for good Asutosh) like a heap of flowers, though devoid of a string (quality).



PREFACE

This book contains the series of ten lectures delivered by me on the "Evolution of Indian Polity" under the Presidency of the Hou. Dr. Sir Asutosh Moukerjee, President of the Council of the Post-Graduate Studies in Arts at the Calcutta University in the months of March and April 1919. The first stage in the evolution, as detailed in the first lecture, is found universal and as such it requires no additional proof. The Institution of Elective Monarchy of Bachelor kings bagoites by pricels on a family of queens or power as they are called, is peculiar to India; and no other nation has as yet been found to have passed through the institution of backelor kings to hereditary manurchy, which forms the third stage in the evolution of Indian polity. In all these stages, the monarchical element seems to have been under the powere of the Proples' Assembly composed of pricels, pobles (Rajas), traders and Agriculturists (Vis), As stated in the Minumes Sutras of Jaimini, the king but on power over land, and was entitled only to 1th of the produce. Banishment or degradation of kings was one of the constitutional checks frequently employed for the prevention of the kings' extravagant proceedings and gambling and other vices. 9 The same constitutional cheek seems to have been employed even in the few Buddhist republics that prevailed side by side with monarchical institutions. What strikingly distinguishes India from the other contemporary nations in the application of such constitutional checks as banishment or degradation of tyrannical

See Appendix C.

Appendix A.

kings is its calm and peaceful procedure as contrasted with the bloody revolutions accompanied with horrible destruction of person and property in other nations. It is Atmamedha, also called prayopavesa or the yow of abstinence to death on the part of the people or masses till the removal of the cause of their prievances.

The fourth stage in the evolution seems to have been the Damma-Chakks or Empire of Rightcourness of the Jainas and the Buddhets. The rest of Jainism and Buddhism in India is not merely a religious revolt against the Brahmanie acimal merifices but an indirect and persussive appeal to Vedic kings to abstain from their bloody warfare and animal eacrifices. Unlike the French revolution and the American War of Independence for man's rights of equality, fraternity and liberty, the directly religious and indirectly political propaganda of the Jainas and the Huddhists preclaiming equality and fraternity of men and charity to man and beaut alike on the socio-political side, and control of passions and reconstitation of the world for Nirvana or final emancipation on the spiritual side has with no ilestruction of property and penns converted Italia into a peaceful Damma-Chakka or Empire of Righteoneses and moral law on the rains of old Brahmanic Institutions, swept off the land together with their direct privileges and prerogatives. This Dhamma-Chakka is followed in its toen by the revival of old Dravidian monarchical institutions under the control of Bethman priests and ministers and privileged eastes, as desired by the politicians of the Kantilya period. The Andhras in Central India and the Parelyas, Cholas and Keralas in the South stood in as much need of the support of the Brahmans for their revival as the latter in need of the support of the

Appendix B.

Dravidians for the revival of their Vedic culture and institution. In the Vedic and Brahmanic literature the Aryan monarch figured as a Kalatra or soldier paid for with ball or tax in the form of agricultural product for protection of person and property of the people against enemies. In the Buddhistic literature he was Gana-dasa or servant of the Buddhot Sangha fed by 1th of the agricultural produce of the people. For his guilt, if any, he was liable to backdoment, degradation or even the gallows. A menarch of such limited power could never be thought of as a reliable support of Brahmanic culture just reviving or almost revived. The old Dravidians who had hitherto been regarded as Vosbalas or persons of Sudra birth could scarcely afferd shelter to Brithmanic culture. It was therefore necessary to devise a new theory of monarchy and invest the Deavidson kings with the right of Sarvahhanmates or power over all the land and people. as opposed to the old theory of the Minamakas that the king has no right of awagachip over land or people. A new theory of theserate monarchy making the king's person divine and investing him with power over land and people in virtue of his building temples and setting up of idols of gods in the temples with rich endowments has been accordingly devised by the Bhatta school of the later Miminsakas (8th century unwants) and is thus stated in the first Didhiti of the Rapalharmakaustabha by Anauthadeva, son of Khandadeva, the author of Bhattadinika on the Mimanaa sútras :--

"In the Sribhagavatha the king is said to acquire his right of ownership of land of all kinds (Sarvaprakara bhamisvamya) only in virtue of his having set up idols of gods. 'He acquires ownership of all the land in virtue of

P. 12, Ancient Gistory of Justin by R. G. Bhandarkar.

his setting idols of gods, of the three worlds in virtue of his creeting a temple; of the abode of Brahms in virtue of his making endowments for the worship of gods; and he will attain equality with me (God Krishna) in virtue of his performances of the above three! Likewise in the Vishaudharmottara - Kings desirous of attaining to heaven should in the Kali age set up new rities after erecting temples." Here the word cities implies villages and fortified towns also. The verse quoted from the Bhilgavata lays down that a king who is desirous of acquiring ownership of the cities, villages, towns and the like, which he establishes, should at first erect temples. Whoever is desirous of acquiring such ownership in virtue of his being anounted as a king shall also erect palace and other buildings at first. Hence it is that in enumerating the duties of a king, the erection of temples, palaces and the like are enumerated first. In the verse of the Bhagavata the king is said to arquire his ownership of all the land in virtue of his acting up idals of gods and temples. In this connection there crop up two alternatives , whether the word 'mahipala,' 'king' in the verse means a person who is already exercising his royal duties as stated in the grind face view in the Jaimini's Mimausk Satra! or any other person of the roling caste, as stated in the conclusion of the commentary on the same sutra? It cannot be the first meaning, for in that case there can be no necessity for the anountment of such a person. Nor is the erection of temple, etc., the duty of a person who is already exercising his royal duties, for his exercise of his royal duties is dependent on his acquisition of that power in virtue of his creation of temples or the like. Nor can it be the second, i.e., any person of the ruling

caste, for in that case the construction of palsees and temples, etc., which can be undertaken by all, irrespective of caste and creed, would become a special duty of the Kshatriva caste. Not so ; for though the erection of palaces and temples in general be undertaken by all, still, the construction of temples and palaces prior to the work of laying out cities, and villages can be regarded as a special duty of a person of Kehatriya caste in view of acquiring the right of sovereignty. In fact only such a person as is possessed of bravery, martial courage and other manly qualities befitting him to be a capable protector of people is taken as worthy of being anointed as a king. Hence like qualities such as bravery, courage, and capacity to protect, the construction of temples and other buildings helifs a person to be a sovereign of the people."

There is no doubt that this new theory of theorestie monarchy was universally accepted in India in medianval period. The existence of a great number of temples in the rained capitals of accient kings in India, especially in the Dekhan, proves it beyond doubt. It has been usual with historians to regard this form of monarchy as despotie. But I doubt whether the temple-builders of the mediaeval period were so desputie as they were believed to have been. As a matter of fact effective religious restraint and priently domination seem to have been the characteristic features of Indian mouarchies in general, and of mediaeval states in special. With this last step ends the evolution of Indian polity, having its growth arrested by Mahamadan conquest of India in the North, while in the South a number of Hindu kings vied with each other in establishing their sovereign rights by studding the land with temples. It is true that we regret to miss such sweet and bewitching words as Equality, Fraternity, Liberty,

Self-determination and the like in the political history of India. Yet I am inclined to believe that such religious and moral restrain's as Self-denial, Conquest of the Six Passions, Preparation for Moksha or Nirvana by renonciation frequently preached to the prince and the poor alike were scarcely less powerful than the constitutional and legal checks of Western nations of modern times. How far the modern constitutional checks based more on utilitarian than ethical principles are preferable to religious or philosophical restraints which are applicable to all is a question yet to be decided.

I shall be guilty of ingratitude if I close the preface without acknowledging my thankfulness to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the President and Founder of Post-Graduate Studies in Arts in the Calcutta University, for his kind invitation to me at a great distance from Calculta to read a series of lectures on subjects connected with the Arthasastra in that Imititation which is unique and the only one of its kind in India. I confen that in my naturally ready response to his generous invitation, I have fallen far short of what was expected of me as the discoverer and translator of the Kautiliya Arthasastra. For this I beg to apologize to the worthy President of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies us well as to the world of scholars at large. My thanks are also due to the Senate of the Calcutta University for the publication of my lectures.

Mysone, The 10th September, 1920.

R. S.

CONTENTS

	Lacreus	1		
Tribal State of Societ	y _	10-		PAGE 1
	LECTURE I	1		
Elective Monarchy	114	142	497	25
arevo unal	Lucreus 1	11		
The Origin of the Kal	he Kabatriyas 40			
The People's Assembly	Locrens I	Y	100	75
	Lacrenz V			
The Duties and Pro			ge and	
Priests	115	0.0	90	88
The effect of Jainism condition of India			pulitical	99
The Empire-lastiding	Lacres: \		ciane of	
the Kautilys peri				114
	Lacreage V	III		
Espionage	140	-0	100	126
	LECTION I	X		
Theceratic Despetism	146	941	Aver.	137
	Lacrone	X		
The condition of the	People-Int	ellectual, S	paritual	
and Economical				1.50

CONTENTS

APPENDIX A

Election of Kings and delegation of Severeignty	114	PAGE. 188
APPENDIX B		
Sacrificial Fasting as a form of passive resistance		166
APPENDIX C		
State-Ownership of Land		172

EVOLUTION OF INDIAN POLITY

LECTURE 1

TRIBAL STATE OF SOCIETY

It is chiefly to moman that man own his civilisation. Such of her natural qualities as sweetness, beauty and love seem to have infused or awakened in him the qualities that are necessary for spendility. Taking advantage of the natural feeling of lave which man has for woman, she seems to liave brought him under her influence and tanger him the art of extending that love first towards her own children and next to her distant blood-relations. While this is as much tens of banets and birds, the difference between beasts and thirds on the one hand and man on the other has in his returnive memory and his natural capacity to repeat in word and action the impressions made on his memory. This natural gift of memory and tengue would have enabled him to evalve under the influence of woman knowingly or unknowingly a kind of society congenial for the exercise of his natural talents. But the brute force which man has in common with beasts to acquire and carry off the object of his liking, whether woman or food, seems to have disturbed him very much in his ecoscious or nacouscious attempt to live a social life with his woman or women and children. In the early stages of society man like a beast seems to have fought with man for woman or food.

This kind of herd life seems to be as true of human society in its earliest stages as of leasts even now. It needs no proof that if human society once existed in such a rade and madeveloped form as this, it was in that stage maternal or matriarchical rather than paternal or patriarchical. At this stage of somety it was not possible for children to recognize their father as easily as their mother who sucked, protected, and maintained them. The proof for this lies in the fact that children once went by their mother's mame instead of by their father's name, a practice quite opposite to what now prevails. Words such as Dailyas, sons of Dits, Vargateyas, sons of Vinatil, Kadraveyas, sons of Kadra, Anjaneya, son of Anjana, Jabala, son of Jabala, and Jaratkara, son of Jaratkara are taken as indicative of the uncertainty of the real begetter and of the unseffled condition of the society which rendered promisently among women a recovery etil.1 The Laty Ayana Smuta Suica and the Nidhan Sutra of the Sama Voda formich a still more reliable proof of promisemity of early women than this, In I 3, 11-19 the Latylyana Smuta lava ilowu that in Aguichtoma Sattra and other meritices the Schrabmanya privet should, while siaging the Subrahmanya litary currente the names of the father, grandfather, and great-grand-father as well as of the son, grandson, and great-grand-our of the sacrificer. After inquiring after the reason for the enumeration of such names, the Niddina Notra (III. 8) says as follows :-

"Women are of disorderly conduct. He, the merificer, here before divine and human witnesses, declares after mounting the sacribinal car the names of those whose descendant he is as well as the names of those whom he

Enry. Strik., Vol. IX, pp. 20-26.

calls his own descendants, lest King Soma may mount his car (and not come down)."

The Mahabharata furnishes a still clearer proof of this in the legent of Stataketa (Adiparva, Chapter 128, Kumbhakona Edition).—

" Formerly women were not confined in their houses and dependent on husbands and other relatives. They used to go about firely enjoying as best pleased them. They did not then alliere to their busheads faithfully and yet they were not regarded sinful, for that was the sanctioned enstom of the times. That very custom is followed to this day by birds and beasts without any exhibition of jealousy. That practice, sanctioned by precedent, is applanded by great Rishis. The practice is yet regarded with respect amongst the Northern Kurus. Indeed, that eastom, so isnient to norms, has the sanction of antiquity. The present practice (of woman being confined to one husband for life) has been cuta Sedard but lately. I shall tell thee now in detail who catabished it and why. It has been heard by so that there was a great Rish; named Uddalaku. He had a son culled Svetakota who was also an ascetic of merit. The present virtuous practice was established by that Svetaketo in anger. Hour thou the reason for his noger. One day, in the presence of Svetaketu's father, a Bralimana came and holding Syetaketo's mother by the hand, told her- 'Let us go.' Beholding his mother seized by the hand and taken away apparently by force, the son, moved by wrath, became very indignant. Seeing his san indignant Uddalaka addressed him and said,-" Be not angry, O Son! This is the practice sanctioned by antiquity. Women of all orders in this world are free. Just as cuttle are situated so are human beings, too, within their respective orders. Svetaketa, however, disapproved of this eastern and established

Lec.

in the world the present practice both for men and women.

The conversation of Gautama with Satyakama Jabala about the invertainty of the latter's parentage, as narrated in Chhandegya, IV. 1, 5, is another instance pointing to the same conclusion.

I shall have occasion to speak, in connection with the origin of Kahatriyas, of a Vedic institution of queens or cows with no marriage tie, a custom on which the peculiar costom of the Nairs of Mahabar seems to have been founded. Among the Nairs the woman lives with her mother or brother or in other cases has a bouse of her own where she receives her husband. "No Nair knows his father, and every man looks upon his sister's children as his beirs." (Buchunan, H. 412).

These are strong evidences to prove that the family system among the Aryans of India or among their prederessors was of your rather maternal or matriarchical than paternal or patriarchical and that it was due to the mahility of soman to defend herself against her revuler and a possible kind of moral sense on the part of men.

From this ligentions or dissolute state of society in which safety of person and property was out of question, the next step in the evolution of society seems to have been the formation of a defensive and offensive union of men and wemen as a protective measure. A number of settlements or unions of men and wemen seems to have arisen in various places under a common appellation, Gana, Jana, or Kula. Each Gara or Jana seems to have adopted a different badge or banner of an animal, plant, or bird as its distinguishing mark, and as a device showing the superiority or inferiority in bravery of one Gara to the other. It is a strange coincidence that though widely separated from each other, different communities or tribes of men

appear to have adopted similar hadges or totems as they are termed by ethnographers. The totem names of the North American tribes of Senecas are said to be wolf, bear, turtle, heaver, deer, suipe, heron, and hawk. The same names are said to prevail among other tribes known as Cayygas, Oneikas, Mahawka, and the rest. The totem names that seem to have once prevailed among the Aryans of India are horse, elephant, gust, serpent, dog, cat, cat, cow, buffalo, tiger, deer, monkey, lion, mangoose, cagle, owl, crow, cork, peacock, banner, smoke, lion, dog, bull, ass, elephant, and the like.

There is reliable evidence to prove that the early Accune were divided into as many tribes as are indicated by the names of the beasts, binds, and other objects mentioned above. It is an immountful sustom with the Hindus generally that the autumbty of a proposed marriage match should be based upon day, gens, and other actrological harmonies between the bride and the leidermon. There are as many as twenty harmonies or Kutas, as they are called, to be accertained, before the selection of a bride or bridegroom is loclared acceptable. The most historically though not astrologically important Kdyas or increonics are the (1) Ganakûta, or tribe-barmony, (2) the Yonikûta or species-harmony, (4) the Pak-hikûta or hird-harmony, (4) the Bhutakûta or elements harmony, (5) Avakûta or prosperity harmony, (6) Varnaküta or class or caste harmony, and (7) Getrakuta or family harmony. The way in which these harmonies are to be found out is thus explained in the Kallamrita (Chapter III).

Of the 27 stars, some nine stars are assigned to Devaganas or celestial tribes, some other nine to Rakshusaganas or demon tribes, and the remaining nine to human

² Ency. Brit., Vol. IX, p. 30.

tribes. It is ruled that if both the bride and the bridegroom have birth-stars belonging to the same tribe, they are said to have Green-harmony. These birth-stars should never belong to inimical tribes such as demoniac and burnau, in which case the proposed match should be given up.

The Yonkitta or species-harmony is thus explained :-

The species are taken to be fourters:—(1) horse, (2) elephant, (3) goat, (4) serpent, (5) dog, (6) cat, (7) rat, (8) cow, (9) buffalo, (10) tiger, (11) deer, (12) monkey, (13) lion, (14) mangeouse. These together with their females are made 28. Of the 27 stars, made into 28 with the addition of the Abbijit, one star is assigned to each of the 28 species, male and female. It is ruled out that the couple should have their birth-stars belonging to the same species or such different species as are not naturally inimical to each other.

Similarly to each of the two birds such as eagle, owl, crow, cock, and peaceck, some five and five stars are assigned and to the second and third bird one more star is also assigned to make up 27. If the couple are found to have such birth-stars as are assigned to the same bird, they are said to have bird-harmony.

lakewise the 27 stars are distinguished among the socalled five elements, earth, air, water, five and other. It is ruled that the birth-stars of the couple should belong to the same or friendly elements, but never to inimical elements.

To find out. Ayakusa or presperity-harmony, the astrologer is directed to proceed as follows :-

The eight randical points, East, South-East, South, South-West, West, North-West, North and North-East are designated by the names, flag, smoke, lien, dog, bull, ass, elephant and crow. Out of the 27 stars, three, three stars are assigned to each of the cardinal points and the remaining three stars are added to the first three points, one to each, thus making up 27. The points with their names being marked in the circumference of a circle, the fifth point, counting from any initial point, is considered to be the enemy of the first. The birth-stars of the couple are considered to be in harmony, if they do not belong to inimical points.

The class or caste-harmony to thus explained :-

Some three reduced signs are assigned to Brahman class, some three to Kahatriya class, some three to Vaisya and the remaining three to Sudra. If the hirth signs of the bride and bridegroom are of the same class or if that of the bridegroom is of higher class than that of the bride, they are said to be in class-harmony.

The Gotra or family barneony is explained as follows:

The progenitors of families are said to be even:

Marichi, Atri, Vannhalm, Ampress, Polastyn, Pulaha and
Kratu. The 25 stars with Abbifit are distributed among
the 7 progenitors at 1 stars to each. The comple are said
to be in family barmony, if their birth-stars belong to
different families.

Mere totenism in a good sense and astrology appear to be so inseparably mixed up that it is landly possible to find out which gave the lead to the other. But as such totemic names, if they are totemic at all, are found among savage tribes of other nations with no connection with stars or codiscal signs, it stands to reason to hold that they are of totemic origin, intended to sanction or prohibit marriage between persons of the same totem name and to acknowledge the duty to support in mar or to reverge other members of the same name. And as evilization advanced and as tribes of different totems became amalgamated together by compact or reconcelistion, such totem names

as a cat-man, a rat-mail, might have still persisted in the retentive recollection of old men and women and might have led a shrewd astrologer to explain the totem name by connecting it with the birth date or birth star of the persons. That stars, days, months and boors of the day were of old designated by names of animals, plants, and other things, is slearly borne out by history.5 Thus there is reason to believe that though Kalamrita and other astronumeral treatises are of revent date, still the totem names recorded in them are of prehistoric origin, traditionally handed down from generation to generation. Accordingly even in the Vedas mention seems to have been made of such totem names as ' Sigra, horse-radish, and aja, goat '* in connection with tribes. The way in which the sacrificer is directed in the Krahnaya jorveds (VI. 5, 4, 17) to assign to the twelfth stake his enemy or a rat seems to imply the tendency of the times to designate a bostile tribe by the name, rat. The names of the elevru sacrificial animals, enumerated in the Krishnasajurveds (V. 3, 11, 49) may have some remote manuetam with totemic custom. Side by side with this regulation of marriages by totem names, as set forth in the first five lumnones mentioned above, there is also the institution of getras or families on patriarchical basis, prohibiting the marriage of a woman of the same getra, as well as of a woman descended from his paternal or maternal annesters within the sixth degree.

Now the question is how these two customs of marriage, one based upon rational conternal family system and regulated by totem names of tribes, and the other connected with families established on patriarchical basis and indicative of an advanced form of society, are to be reconciled with each other. The answer is furnished by

[·] Escy. Bra., Vol. XXIV, p. 798.

Bigwein, VII. 18, 19.

a guiding astrological verse commonly quoted by astrologers. It is as follows:—

"Friendship between the lands of the hirth-signs of the bride and bridegroom is essential among the Brahmans; regulation of marriage by gama-harmony (as explained above) is essential among the Kelatriyas; the distance of the birth-stars of the bride from that of the bridegroom (by about 180°) is important for the Vaisyas; species-harmony (as explained above) is essential for the Sudvas."

From this it can be safely inferred that the Sudras, a race different from the Aryans, were divided into a number of totomic tribes at war with each other and with families organised on maternal bases. It is probable that when they were taken into the Aryan fold rather by respectiation than by award by the invading Arvans, the latter had incorporated with their own many of their furmer's religions, social and political epitoms and that promisently of women, regulation of marriage by totemic names, and Nivoga or the custom of deputing a man to beget a sen on an appointed wife were costone rather of the Sadras than of the Aryans. What were the other religious, social, and political mutous of the Scaless which the Aryans had incorporated with these own is a question that seems to be a rich mine for explorers. Leaving this knotty question uside, it may, however, be pronumed that when the Arvans invaded, India toey consisted of families organized on a patriarchical basis, as vividly described by the following soul-stirring bymp of the Atharva-vuia (III. 30) :-

" Preedom from hate I bring to you, concord and unanimity.

¹ See Kalkerrica, Chapter 3, remo 180

- I. Love one another as the cost levelli the calf that she hath borne.
 - One-minded with his mother let the son he loyal to his sire. Let the wife, calm and gentle, speak words sweet as honey to her lord.
 - 3 No bother hate his bother, no sister to sister be unkind. Unanimous, with one intent, speak ye your speech in friendliness.
 - 4. That spell through which goes sever not, our ever bear each other hate.

That spell we lay open your home, a bond of union for

5. Intelligent, suburnity, rost united, friendly and kind, bearing the yoke together.

Come speaking sweetly each one to the other. I make you one-intentioned and one-model.

 Let what druk, your share of food be remmon, together with one common bood I hind you.

Serve Agni, gathered round has like the spokes about the chariot nace.

With binding charm I make you all united, obeying
une sale leader and one-minded. Even as the gods who
watch and goard the Amrit at soon and evenue ye be
kindly-hearted."

There is also philological evidence to prove that before the Aryans of India had separated from their brethren, the Greeks, the Romans, the Celts and others, they had arrived at a state of society in which families on a constitutional basis were firmly set up. The following list of words common to the three kindred languages Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, is a suitable evidence of the formation of families on patriarchical basis and of a tribal or democratic form of Government :-

Sauskrit	/ireck:	Latin.	English.
pitar	pater	pater	father
matar	mater	mater	mother
bhratar	phratris	frater	brother
naptar	ampains	персы	geordem.
jamatar	gambro-	gener	son-in-law
evasura.	Tiggierra	gweet	father-m-law
widhava.		vidna.	widow
rajan		2978	king
rajni		regina	queen
patni	pane.	polices	murres honourable
padati	forms.	peditiv	footman
mjata	HEZWON!	wrzestna	alver
dama	dottoox	dime	house
Vis or yest	friles	(C)709	bouse, village
per	palis ;		eity
200	200+	Marie	ship
aritra	- eretmo-	9	- 00F.

From these and other words, for immersion to quote here, it may be eafely inferred that the Aryans had already arrived at a state of society that settled itself in a city with a raje, tribul obtain, for not a king, with padatis, footmen to guard the city and the agriculturate, carpenters, weavers, black-smiths, gold-smiths and others to work upon iron, silver and other metals. There is reason to believe that like the Greeks and the Romans who had no monarchical institution when they settled in Europe after leaving these original home, the Aryans of India had no monarchical organisation when they immigrated into India. The word Rajan which corresponds with Roman rex, chief, seems to leave originally signified a chief or noble, but not a hereditary monarch. There are a few

passages in the Vedas in which Bajan means merely a chief or a noble which in a number of other passages is used in the sense of a hereditary monarch. This variation in its sense is evidently due to the evolution of kingship from ou original tribal chieftainship. Western scholars are inclined to believe that the normal, though not oniversal form of Government in early India was that by kings, as might be expected in view of the fact that Avyan Indians were invaders in a hostile territory; a situation which, asin the case of the Arvan invaders of Greece and of the German invaders of England, resulted almost necessarily in strengthening the monarchical element of the constitution." 'It is also believed that the Vedie monarchy was sometimes hereditary and in others elective, though it is doubtful whether the election by the people was between the members of the royal family only or extended to members of all the noble slans." But sovereign power, if monarchical, must be either herelitary or for life of the person elected as a monarch. Such downet seem to be the case with sovernigh poster in the early Vedic period. As will be seen later on, persons elected to it were frequently expelled and restored. Propert attempts to perform sacrificial offerings and spells for the attainment of sovereign power by different persons indicate that sovereign power in the early Vedic period was certainly democratic and insecure, based as it was on the everchanging popular will, as shown by the frequent attempts of elected chiefs to control the popular passion by spells and witcheraft. The anarchical disturbance due to the frequent election, expulsion and restoration of chiefs seems to have led the people to establish monarchical form

^{*} Vedic ladex, Vol. 11, p. 210

Vette Index, Vol. 11, p. 211.

of government on a hereditary toxis, as stated both in the Kautiliya Arthasastra and the Mahabharata.* It is on the supposition of the evolution of hereditary monarchy out of an original democratic or tribal chieftaniship that the use of the word Rajau both in the sense of a democratic leader and a hereditary king can find a satisfactory explanation. The following are the passages in which the word Rajau is used in the sense of a make:—

" He amplifies his body might, with molder (rajans) he slays, even mid ntarms he dwells secure.

In great or lesser fight, none clarks him, none subdues,—the wielder of the thursderbolt." Rig., I. 40, 8.

Here the word rajablik to plured to see state kings, if is be taken in that sense. There minut possibly be no more than a king to light number the leadership of Indra.

"If in your dwelling, or at a noble's, or as a Beahman's, ye, Indra and Agns, buty some, regime you,

Even from thence, ye mighty forth, come hither and drink libations of the flowing Some," Hig., L 108, J.

As Index and Again are involved to come and drink the libation of Some in the sacrifice performed by a king, they cannot be thought of as language in another king's dwelling.

"O much invoked, may we sobdue all famine and evilwant with store of grain and cattle.

May we allied, as first in cank, with nobles obtain possessions by our own exertion." Rig., X, 42, 10.

There cannot be many kings with whom the priests can possibly ally themselves.

"He who hath store of herbs at hand like nobles and an assembly of men,—physician is that sugo's name, fiend-slaver, chaser of disease." Rig., X. 97, 6.

^{*} Artheastra p. 16 (English translation). Matchingers, Santi., Obsp. 66.

14 EVOLUTION OF INDIAN POLITY [Lec.

There cannot possibly be many kings attending an assembly of people. Hence the word Rajanah must mean nobles here

"Seize, Agni, on thy power and firmly hold it; Contend then, with the friend by way of friendship. Placed in the centre of our fellow nobles, Agni thish forth, frequently invoked here." A. V., II. 6, 4.

There exact be many fellow kings. The word Sajata, fellow or born together, is an epithet qualifying the word "Rajaah," nobles.

"Make me beloved among the gods, beloved among the nubbes, make me dear to every one who sees and to Sudra and to Aryan man." A. V., X1X, 62, 1.

There exceed he many longs in his place to whom the singer wants to endear himself.

"Reston splendow on our Brahmana; hestow aplendme on our nobles; however splendow on our Valeyas and Sultan; bestow splendow over splendow on me."

Here the sense of the word Kajasu can possibly be no other than nobles.

"Just as I speak is cudearing terms to people, to Beahmans, nobles, Sudras, Aryans and even to my deadly foe, so may I become dear to gods, to the histower of gifts; may my desire be fulfilled and I may realise this."

Here like the words Brahmana, Sudra and Arya, the Rajanya means a class but not an individual. Hence it must mean nobles as a class. (Krishna Yajurveda, I. 3, 6). Since there is reason to believe that individual ownership of land in severalty was an established custom of Vedic India, it follows that frequent attempt at sacrificial

[&]quot; Teir S, Y. 7, 6, 4 Vaj. S. 18, 48.

[&]quot; Tait. S., S. S. S. Vaj. E., 26, 2.

performance for the possession of a rillage (grama) and of a kingdom (rushtra) must nonessarily be rather for its overlordship than for the possession of the land. The Krishnayajurruda releas to automakip of land in severalty as follows:—

"He should make an offering to Judra and Agai on eleven putsherds who has a disputs about a field or with his neighbours." II. 2, 2.

The following sacrifices are enjoined for the attainment of lordship over a village or a kingdom;—

"He who desires a village should offer to the All-gods
the sacrifice for taking possession. His signals are
connected with All-gods; verily he has recourse to the
All-gods with their own share; verily they subject
his equals to him; he becomes possessed of a village."

(Krishus Vajus, II, 3, 10,)

"They should be offered for one who desires the kingsdom; the Rachtrablerite are the kimpdom; verily with the kingdom; he wins the kingdom for him; he becomes the kingdom; they should be effered for operall; the Rashtrabheits are the kingdom; the people are the kingdom, eattle are the kingdom, in that he becomes the highest, he is the kingdom. Verily with the kingdom he wins the kingdom, he becomes the recket of his equals, They should be offered for one who desires a village; the Rashtrabhrita are the kingdom, has fellows are the hingdom; he becomes possessed of a village. He offers on the dicing place; verily on the dicing place be wire her follows for him; being mon they excit apon him. They should be offered on the mouth of the charist for him who desires force; the Bashtrabhrits are the force; verily by force he wins force for him; he becomes presessed of force. They should be

¹¹ Compare Krishma Voy, U. 2. 1. See also Appendix I.

offered for him who is expelled from his kingdom. To all his chariots he should say 'He yoked'; verily he yokes the kingdom for him. The oblitions of him whose realm is not in order are disordered. He should take off the right wheel of his charier and offer in the box. So he puts in order has oblition; and the kingdom comes in order in second with their evening into order." (Krishna Yaji, III. 4, 8.)

It is probable that receive was had to dire-play and charint-care to decide the claims of rival competitors for soversign power over a village or kingdom. The statement that "on the deeng-place he wim his fellows and being won they wait upon him "found in above quotation confirms this view. The LAtravana Spania Sutra (VIII. 11, 1) also prescribes the Vaj creya for whomseever the Brahmans and the Rajana may place at their lead. Both in the Vajapeya and the fishenya dice-play and chariot-race form an important part of the rate. In the Rajumya sacrifice the king (to be elected) is made to step on a triger skin, under which is plant a pure of Teel representing the head of Namuelo, an which to teample. He then performs a characterage with sixteen other character and plays or deputes his Akshavapa, dice-player, to play at dice for him. It appears that his election to the sovereign power over the kingdom depended on his success in the chariotcase or in the dies-play or in both. In addition to war as a means to decide the claims of contending parties for power or possession, wrestling combat, charjot-race, or dien-play between two representatives of the contending parties seems to have been looked upon of old as a peaceful means to settle the question at issue. The rule seems to have been the underlying factor of the dice-play which is said to have been undertaken by ancient kings such as Nala and his brother Jayatsena or Pushkara and

Yudhishthim and Duryotham, 12 in the very presence of their electors, the people and the priests.

There is also ovidence to believe that perhaps owing to difficulties in deciding the claims of rival claimants to sovereign power or other causes, some states continued to successfully orange their affairs even without a king. Zimmer is said to have found in some Velic passages states having to kings. This is stated in the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith —

"Zimmer sees traces in one passage of the Rigveda that in times of peace there was no king in some states the members of the royal family holding equal rights. He compares this with the state of affairs in early Germany. But the passage morely shows that the nobles could be called Rajan and is not decrease for the sense ascribed to it by Zimmer. Of course this state of affairs is perfectly possible and is caemplified later in Buddhistic times."

The Rigyoda passage referred to by him runs as

"Where a Brahman meets with heels like nobles in an assembly, he is called a physician fund-slayer and chases of disease." X. 97, 6.

The Atharva Velic passages which are believed by Zimmer to convey the same bles are 1.9; III. 4; and IV. 22.

I. "May Indra, Pushan, Varana, Mitra, Aguibenignant gods, national this man in riches.

May the Adityas and the Visradevas set and support this man in supremest lostre.

[&]quot; Arthosastra, V. III, 3,

¹³ Vodle Index, Vol. II. p. 216.

18

May light, O gods, he around him, Agni, the sun, all that is bright and golden.

Prostrate beneath our feet his fees and rivals. Uplift him to the loftiest cope off heaven.

 Through that most mighty prayer, O Jatavedas, wherewith then brought milk to strengthen Indra,

Even therewith exalt this man, O Agui, and give him highest mak among his fellows.

 I have assumed this sacrifice, O Agni, their hopes, Their glory and their riches' fulness.
 Prostrate beneath our feet his foce and rivale.
 Uplift him to the loftiest cope of heaven."

A. V., L. 9.

3.

This is clearly a macrificial hymn or prayer to strengthen the claim of a candidate to sovereign power, whether strong or weak. It follows therefore that the state, to the lordship of which the candidate aspired, was in the meantime in a state of interregaum.

"To thee hath come the kingship with its splendour
On! shine as lord, sole ruler of the people.
King! let all regions of the heavens invite thee.
Here let men wait on thee and before thes.

The tribenmen shall elect thee for the kingship,
These five celestial regions shall elect thee.

Rest on the height and top of kingly power; thence as a
Mighty man award us treasures

2.

Kinsmen, inviting thee, shall go to meet thee, With thee go Agni as an active herald. Let women and their sons be friendly minded. Thou, mighty one, shall see abundant tribute. First shall the Ascins, Vaccina, and Mitter, the Universal gods, and Mariet call three Then form thy mind to giving gods of treasure. Thence, mighty one distribute would among us-

Speed to us bether from the backhet distance.

Propitions unto the Lie Earth and Howen.

Even so both Vacuus, this King, asserted, he who
Hitpstell both pulled the sense than hither.

5.

Pass to the trine of now, O finler, India.

Those with the Narama hast been from a secondard.

To his own place this one: Again but brailed thee, saying.

Let him affore the guils and guide the Classiner.

6.

The borntons on he in white there and plans.

All in amound, how views the years and comfort.

Let all these is consert and they bribe:

Live thy booth area to been a strong and color."

As V., 111. 1.

"Exalt and strengthen the my prison, O India,
Make him sole lord and bodies of the propile
Scatter his foca, as been all his treats into his hand.
In struggles for prevalence.

Give him a diare in village, kine, and hurses.

And leave his enemy without a private.

Let him as king be head and chief of private.

Give up to him, O hodra, every formur.

Let him be treasure-hard of good!) treasure-.

Let him as king be master of the people.

Grant into him great power and might, O India,
And strip his enemy of shoughl and region.

Like milk kine yielding milk for overs Medicus, Shower, Heaven and Fasth, or him full many a blessing.

2.

May he as king be Indra's well-beloved,

The darling of the kine, the plants, and the cuttle.

I join in league with thee Victorious Indea, With whom men conquer and are never defeated. He shall make thee the folk's sole lord and leader Shall make thee highest of all burner rulers.

Supreme art thee, beneath there are thy rivals, And all, O king, who were thine adversaries. Sole lord and leader and allied with Indra, bring, Conquer, thy formen's goods and treasures.

Consume, with liou aspect, all their bambers, with Figer aspect, drive away thy former. Sole Lord and tender and allied, with Indea, Scize, conquer, thine receives passessence.

In the first of these two hymns, the elected hing seems to have been an outsider, as he was expected to "spirit thither from farthest distance." In the second, the right of the elected king to a share in the village-produce, and kine and horses in accordance with the rustom of the monarchical states of those tower in already clearly specified. It follows therefore that in these two instances the states were of a republican pattern in government.

Still more conclusive is the evidence furnished by the Aitareya and Taitteriya Brahmanas about the existence of republics during the Vedic period :--

"The Devas said, it is on account of our having no king that the Asaras defeat as. Let us elect a king. All consented. They elected Some their king. Headed by King Some, they were victorious in all directions." (Ait. Be., I. 14).

"The Devas and Asuras joined in buttle. Then Prajapati concented his eldest son India, last he might be killed by the mighty Assars. Perhiada, the son of Kayadhu likewise concealed his son Virochana, lest be might be killed by the Devus. The Devus went to Prajapali and said; there can possibly is no battle for a state having no king (for its basky). They counted Index to be their king with sacrifices." (Tait Br., I. 5, 9).

The Ambattia Settinta of the Buddhists (I. 113) and the Arthasastra of Kaurilya (XI. 1) refer in numistakable terms to the existence of republics or congurations of warriors (Kahatraya Srem) with the title of Rajana even so late as the Buddhistic period, when a greater portion of India was divided into a number of inveditary monarchical states.

Likewise both the Arthausetta (I, 18) and the Mahabhasata (Hajadharma Parva, Charter 67) speak of a period when the Arrana had no monimized institutions, and elected Mann to be their king for the first time in their history.

Hence it may be safely assected that when the Aryanainvaded India, they were divided into a number of Gapas or Janus corresponding to the Bonson Gene and Gentesand the Greek Genos, such Gene being a republic or democracy with no king, and that during the Yelic and Brahminic periods a number of the Janus passed into elective morarchies, while a few retained their republican form even so late as the Bonddhot period. (4)

We have no reliable information as to what their economical and administrative condition was at the remote period. Still from what Hinds astrologies traditionally say of planetacy constitution with reference to its influence on the economic and administrative condition of homan society, some information may be gathered about the

[&]quot; Buddhist Tallia by Rhys Buells, p. 19.

economical and minimistrative constitution of the republies. According to the astrologues the planeture world is believed to consist of nine primary Navakas or limbs, such as a king, nurseler, manuscrabe of the army, enjoyatendent of emps, superintendent of grains, superintendent of barter (argla), superintendent of clouds, superintendent of liquids, and that of sire things. Then there are seven secondary lembers, as the highe of horses, of elephants, of cows, of sheep, of huffalors, of anicels, and of asses. Then a set of ten subordinate ionly, such as lonk at gods, of men, of wealth, of cloth, of genes, of nomen, of trees, of beasts, of goods, and of tende. Thus follows a set of five, as lords of the frances, of war, of remounts, of edies (ajon) and of transactions. They another set of five, as the heals of harring, of happasens, of coursel, of work, and of bravery. The divise u of these Mi lowle into five groups is evidently 'an indication of successive later additions. Accordingly they may be reduced to mine, as (1) a lard of war, (4) a lord of emps. 1) one of grains, (4) one of trade and harter, (5) and of cuttle and beauty, (6) one of water, (7) one of forcets, (*) suc of elethings and implements and (0) one of disputes (Vyavahara).

Of these, the duty of the hard of war is clear enough and it is her on whom by the most important duty, the protection of the gens against enoughes. The duty of the one of the two lords of crops and grows seems to have been the supervision of crops and harrests and protection of them from wild trabes and beasts. In the absence of currency it was not an easy task to settle the rate of barter of things and a separate officer seems to have been appointed for the purpose of fixing the rate, at which things had to be bartered. The lord-of cuttle had to lead the cattle of the gens as a whole to pusture and graze them and bring them back to the village in the

eyening, as is still to enstone in a number of villages even now. The date of the Lat of males was evidently the regulation of water of the visinge track or lake, or river for drinking or trug and it eyes. The appointment of a lord of clathing and improved an at reuse far the purpose of giving facilities for the production of whething and weaving and agreeditions on Jenostic. Lastly it was the duty of the buil of disputes, to settle the six il disputes of the people and is punish the eximitals, perhaps fullowing the manner of the citings olders assembled in the public graenal or hall on amportant mace. If there was a lord of harning in admitton, he might have been the village priest whose burness may as still prevalent on a number of villages, to perform the sacrdors, to conduct the marriages, funerals, and religious Duntums, to be the time of sowing and reapong and to empary konsolidate to the village boys. It wend not be explicit that all these affirent were maintained, so there are necessaries at the expense of the village as a whole

Land was held to severalty and rach family slevoted itself to its agreement to indiscrete produce, repair of village tanks and other tog propers were, as they are even now, carried out on communal in resoperative basis. Lending and horomorg of grains at interest was a prevalent custom. Division of patential property among the male children during or other she like of the father was an established eventual even during the Vedic period. C. Caste was unknown, but the people were divided into four classes, the Brahmane. Kelutriyas, Vaiscus, and the Sudras. There was internating among the classes, the hower class,

[&]quot; Int. Senting 14 Ch.

to Talk Southin, I lead Secolar Appendix II.

24 EVOLUTION OF INDIAN POLITY [Lec. I.

however, not being permitted to marry a maiden of an upper class. There was interdining among the four classes, the Sudvas being employed as cooks. Gambling was a painful view of the times. Even kings but their kingdoms and even their wives by taking to gambling.

Such scens to be in brief the nature of the little republics of the Indian Aryans when they invaded and occupied the North Western parts of India. Whether this deserves the name of a republic or democracy or tribal state of society is a question that may be conveniently left to the taste of historians.

LECTURE II

ELECTIVE MONABORY

The division of the Hindus originally into four classes, the Brahmans, the Kshatrivas, the Vaisvas, and the Sudras and later into rigid, castos bearing the same names is of Indian origin, as no trace of such division is found among the Greeks, the Romans, and other branches of the Indo-European runn It is true that the Areans of the West, too, and their princts, warriors, traders, and bushandmen like their brethoon of India, but still there was not among them such distinct classification of social grades which, with later contractions as to convention and commeandify, asady pages of monisolated rastes. Nor are the class manou Indo-European in origin. Rese in some electien byrans, the elected man is found, designated not even as a Kahatrira, but murels as man by the use of the demonstrative programs 'this.' It is probable therefore that the word Kalestriva, protector from wounds, is a later Indian or Indo-Iranian word derived to designate a separate class of later formation. So long as no need was felt. for the institution of a sevarate Kabalerva class to defend the bearth and home of the invading Aryans, the general term used to designate a king elected for life or for a definite period was Raja, noble, corresponding to the Roman Rev. It. is a histories! fact a limitted by almost all. Western scholars that when the Arvans invaled India, their leaders were not monarchs, but brave warriors elected for the occasion. 17 Such occasional election of a warrior to defend them against their external enumies, does not seem to have answered their purpose after they settled themselves in the country. They

seem to have felt the need for the election of a permanent chief to be at their head and carry on the internal administration of their settlements. This view is corroborated both by the Arthusastra and the Mahahharata. The Arthusastra says (I. 13):—

"People, suffering from anarchy as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish avallowing a small one, first elected Manu Vaivasvata to be their king and allotted one-static of the grains grown and one-tenth of the merchandise as sovereign dues." 18

How they elected their king, and whom they elected and for what period are questions that cannot be satisfactorily answered. It is probable that as dice-play and chariot mee are found forming part of the coronation rite, the successful candulate in one or two of those games seems to be the our that was selected by the people for the coveted past.12 The statement made in the Rigorda (X. 34, 8) that the king himself pays house and reveres the dice does not seem to mean a gamester's respect to an amazement. Though at a later period when hereditary monarchy was firmly established in the land, these two games in connection with the coronation rite of the kings had become movely symbolic, there is no reason to disbelieve that their connection with the rite originated from the coston of making the kingdom a reward for success in the games. Though the proffered prize in a chariot mee was a thousand cattle (Hig., VL 45), there is no reason to believe that the trize in all cases was of the same kind, but nover a kingdom. *"

The trouble which as elected chief had to contend against seems to have been threefold trouble due to

¹⁴ Veille Index, Vol. II, p. 23 Mahabharam, Rajadharam Parva, Chap. 67.

^{*} Tai. Sambita, J. 8, 19-11 and Fl. 2, 1.

external fees or abanginal people, and that due to his own kinsmen and lastly his disagreement with the assembly of the people, he the earliest period when a separate Kahutriya class was not yet established, the only trouble which the elected chief or Raja had to contend against was the Irequent attack of the Arvan settlements by the shonginal people. In the source of time the Aryans seem to have got rid of the partly by conquering and enslaving the native tribes and partly by taking them into the Aryan fold by extending to them right of consubious and commensality. The employment of Sudras as cooks and servants in the houses of even the Arvan priests, the marriage" of Sodna women by the Aryans, and the privilege, 7 granted to the sons of Brahmans by Sudra wives, of becoming Brahmans and of exercising even priestly functions are historical instances of the conciliatory policy of the invaders. Even endayed men and wonger of the Sailras seem to have been allowed to take part in the most solution sacrifices of the Arvana. Milking the cones in sacrifices is a function entruited to Seelras and the completion of the Gavam Ayana sacrifice is marked by the dancing of Sudra women. That at a later period of the bistory of the Aryana Sudras were allowed even the right of becoming kings in many of the Aryan kingdoms, is an undentable historical tact. Why the Chandalas were not granted rights and privileges similar to these which the Sadras succeeded in getting from the Aryans, is a question that requires further myestsgation. It is however probable that they belonged to an earlier aboriginal race, too firmly inclined to its own wild and bathsome way of living.

^{*} Kalivarjya prakasam, Smritichandrika, Val. 1.

^{**} Lityligung Susmanutra, Hampura Sacrilica,

When the troubles due to aboriginal race were thus removed, the priestly class together with the people seem to have furned their attention to the question of electing a king. It was a question of internal administration. A skilful administrator, capable of governing the people in accordance with their eastoms, and with no domestic troubles of his own, was the one that was argently needed. The priests seem to have thought that a bachelor king with no domestic ties of his own would heat serve their purpose. Accordingly they seem to have natablished an institution of queens, on the eldest of whom it was, as will be shown later on, the duty of the chief priest to beget a prisce. It appears that the prince had to live a celebate life and rule the hingdom in accordance with the wishes of the people's assembly. While this new departure removed the inherent difficulties of election, it seems to have occasioned some new troubles. There seems to have arms a new class of princes or Kabateiyas, as they were called, and while the kinsmen of the ruling prince endeavoured to snatch the kingdom in the interests of some one che of their own place, the ruling princes themselves, one after another, seem to have been fighting with the prests for their own right of marriage and for herolitary monarchy. In some Aryan settlements the prests seem to have mule a compromise with their culors and set up hereditary monarchies while in others, the dispute between the prests and the rulers seems to have occasioned a civil war which, as will be seen later on, ended disastroosly for the priests. These and other troubles of elective mosarchy are clearly hinted, if not expressed, in the following election hymns of the Rigyeda and Atharrayada :-

"And they (the Asaras), like people who elect their rulers, have in abhorrence turned away from Vritra." "And they (the Asaras), like people who elect their

1. "Be with us; I have chosen thee stand steadfast and immoveable.

Let all the people wish for thee; let not thy kingship fall away.

2. Be even here; fall not away: he like a mountain unremoved.

Stand steadfast here like Index's self, and hold the kingship in thy group.

 This man bath Indra established, made secure by strong oblatious power.

May Some speak a bentson, and Brahmanespati on him.

4. Firm is the sky and firm the earth, steadfast also are the hills.

Steadfast is all the living world, and steadfast is this king of men.

6. On constant Some let us think with constant

And then may Indra make the class bring tribate unto thee alone." Rig. X. 173.

2. " Subduing those who recal me, aubiliant all malignities.

Withstand the man who memore, withstand the man who angues us.

3. Some and Savitar, the gode, have under thee a victorious king.

All elements have sailed thre, to make thee general conqueror.

5. Slayer of rivals, rivalless, victorous, with royal sway, over these beings may I role.

May I be sovereign of the folk," 24

The points to be noticed in these three hymns are (1) right of the people to elect, (2) the custom of collecting

^{**} Bigveda, X. 174. Compare A. V., VI 87.

tribute or tax from the class or people as contrasted from priests who were exempt from taxation, (3) and the trouble due to rivals.

"The Being lays the sap of life in beings he bath become the severeign lord of eventures.

Yama comes to this man's royal consceration; let him as king own and allow this kingdom.

2. Come forward, turn not back in scorn, strong guardian, slayer of the form.

Approach, O Gladdener of thy friends, the Gods have blowed and strengthened ther.

 All waited on him as he came to meet them. He self-resplendent moves endued with glory.

That is the royal hero's lefty nature! he, manifold, hath gained immeetal powers.

 Stride forth to beaven's broad regions, thou, a tiger, on a tiger's skin.

Let all the people long for thee; let heavenly floods be rich in milk.

5. Heaven's waters joyous in their milk, the waters of the middle air and those that earth containeth—

I with the gathered power and might of all these waters sprinkle thee.

6. The heavenly waters rich in milk have sprinkled thee with power and might to be the Gladderner of thy friends. Mas Savitar so fashion thee.

These, compassing the tiger, rouse the lion to great joy and bliss.

As strong floods purify the standing ocean,

So men adorn the leopard in the waters."

A. V., IV. 8.

"1. I win the love of Indra that his friend may reach yet higher state.

Increase, as rain the grass, this was's longinum and his lofty fame.

2. Confirm the prescely power in him, Agui and Soma grant him wealth.

In all the execut of his rule make him yet higher for your friend. 72

S. The was who shows as enwity, whather a stranger or akin,

Thou wilt give up entire to me who sacrifice and press the juice." (A. V., VI. 54.)

Observe the keen anxiety felt here for the security of the kingly power, doe to enumes both internal and external.

" 1. Firm is the sky, from the earth, and firm as all this fiving world.

Firm are the mountains on their base and stedfast is this king of men.

2. Stedfast may Varues the king, stedfast the god Brihaspati,

Stelfast may Indra, stelfast, (so, may Agn) keep thy stelfast reign.

3. Firm, never to be sluken, crush thy former, under thy feet lay those who strive against thee.

One-minded, true to there be all the regions; faithful to thee, the firm, be this assembly." (A. V., VI. 88.)20

The impretant point weethy of notice in the above hymn is the dependence of the kingly power on the faithfulness of the assembly —

"I. Do ye, O Realmanaspati, myest for royal sway

With that wherewith the deities invested Savitar the god.

²¹ Compare A. V., I. S., and IV. 22,

^{**} Compare A. V., VI. St.

Lavest this Indra for long life, invest him for great princely power,

That I may lead him on to old, that he may watch his princedom long.

 Invest this Some for long life, invest him for great hearing power,

That I may lead him on to eld, that he may watch over hearing long.

For m, surround him, cover him with splendoor,
 Give him long life and doubt when age removes him.

This garment bath Bribaspati presented to Soma, to the king, to wrap about him

 Advance to good old age? endus the munic. Be thou our heifers' yourd from impression (Griebtinam abbimatipa).

Live than a hundred full and plenteous actumes and

wrap thee in prosperity of riches.

it. Thou for one woul hast clothed thee in this garment, thou hast become our car's sure guard from curses (Vasanam abbiesetipa).

Live thou a burdeed full and plenteens autumns: then living, fair thyself, shall deal forth treasures.

In every need, in every fray we call, as friends to succour us, Indra the mightiest of all.

Gold coloured, undecaying, surrounded with heroes, dwell, dving in old age, with people round they.

 This is the spoken word of Agni, Soma, Brihaspati, and Savitac, and Indra. (A. V., XIX. 51.)

" Desiring bliss, at first, light-finding Rishis began religious rite and holy ferrour.

Thence energy was born, and might, and kingship; So this man let gathered gods incline them."

A. V., XIX. 41.

While hymn No. 41 gives to the Robis the credit of establishing elective monarchy, the other hymn (No. 24) seems to restrict the period of monarchy to the life of the elected individual, as clearly printed out in verses 6 and 7. The people's call on the elected king to be their heifers' guard and the assumed consent of the king to be their cows' sure guard from estross is ovidently a reference to the occasional condemnation of the institution of queens or cows on the part of a few elected kings. The motive for hurling imprecations in over eas have no satisfactory explanation unless eyes are taken to mean queens, the mothers of the Kahatriyas. This question will, however, be discussed at length in convection with the origin of Kshatriyas later on. What is however meant by the imprecations and curses of the cores to the attempt of the lackefor kings to put so end by the meditation of queen an whom the Brahmans had the right of high thing the riding princes and the warrior Keliatriyas, and to establish hereditary monarchy in its stood by marrying Emmadrice. So long as the Keinstryan could not surround in their niterant to set up herolitary somercius, the ming kings, though bachelors, were not free from troubles. While they had to centend on the one hand with their leadher princes who seem to have made frequent attempts to great the elected king and seize the throne, the trouble for to the dissatisfaction of the people on the other seems to laws been also immense. This two-fold trouble is referred to in the follows ing hymns of the Atharvaceds :-

"I. This parma amulet bath come, strong and destroying with its strength my rivals.

The power of the gols, the plants' swort essence,

May it meete me cosselessly with viguar.

2. () Parma-antitlet, in me set firmly might and opulence.

Within the compass of my rule may I be rooted and supreme.

That dear mystermes amulet which gods have set within the tree.

3. May the gods grant to me to wear together with extended life.

As gift, by Varuna instructed, Parns hath come, the mighty strength of Soma.

- 4. This would I, brightly shining, love and cherish for long life lasting through a hundred autumns.
- 5. The Parma-charm hath come to me for great security from ill.

That I may be exalted, yea, allowe the wealth of Aryaman.

Sagacious builders of the car, clever and skilful artisans,—

Make all the men on every side, Parus, obedient to my will.

1. The milder and makers of the kings, treaplenders, masters of the horn.

Make all the new or every ride, Paron, abedient to my will.

Thou, Parea, art my body's guard, man kin by birth to me a man.

With splendour of the circling year, I bind thee, on me, Amulet 1" (A. V., 111. 5.)

"We hend together all your (kinsmen's) minds, your your and purposes we bend.

We bend together you who stand spart with hopes opposed to sure.

I with my spirit seize and hold your spirits.

Follow with thought and wish my thoughts and wishes.

I make your hearts the thralls of my dominion!

On me attendant come the way I guide you."

A. V., 111. 8, 5-6;

"Unanimous, ye kinsmen, come united, come to the glory of this mighty guardian.

The inclination which your hearts have harboured, the purpose which hash occupied your spirits,

This I annul with sacrifice and butter.

In me be your sweet resting place, O Kinsmen.

Stand even here, locale me not. Before is may

Pueban make your path unfit to travel."

A. V., VI. 75, 1-3.

"Close gathered be your bodies! be your minds and vows in unison!

Here present Brahmanaspati and fibaga have assembled you.

Let there he union of your minds, let there be union of your hearts.

Ab that is troubled in your lot with this I mend and harmonice.

As, Iron from joulousy, the strong Adityus have been the Vaso's and Budra's fellows,

So free from jealousy, Lord of three fittes!

Cause thou these people here to be one-minded."

A. V., VI. 74.

"We hend your minds in worsen, bend in harmony your hopes and plans.

You, there, who turn to sundered ways, we bend and bow in aution.

I with my spirit make your spirits captive !

These with their thoughts follow my thoughts and wishes.

I make your hearts submissive to mine unless; Closely attending go when I precede rou."

A. V., VI. 94.

"Subdue with conquering might his other rivals, those yet nahors repel, O Jatavelas.

For great falieits portect this kingdom, and in this man let all the gula be joyful "

A. V., VII. 35.

"To me hath this word given by Agni, hane, force and might, and strength and life and lustre.

May Agni, too, bestow on me three times a hundred mante powers.

For mighty strength, for action, I receive thee, for manly power, to last a hundred autumos.

For conquering strength, and energy and vigour.

I factor that, for chieftainshop, for bearing royal dominion through a handred automostic:

A. V., XIX. 37.

While it is clearly stated in these and other hymns that the troubles of the elected monarch were due to chariot-makers, artmans, Immyleaders, masters of the horse, the king-makers or private, his kinsmen, and lastly the people at large, these is no mention made in any of the brane of troubles due to some and wives, a lurking domestic danger, prevalent at a later period, as set forth in the Arthusastra of Kantilya."

The custom mentioned in A. V., XIX. 37 of fastening an amulet with the desire of making the kingship last through a hundred years points to the election of individuals to kingship only for life. This is confirmed also by the steps taken by the people to dethrone and banish an elected chief on account of his oppression and misgovernment. The banishment of an elected chief

[&]quot; Cf. A. V., VI 57; VII, 78; 96.

[&]quot; Arthu, Book i. Chaps. 17, 18, 20, 21

and the restoration of an expelled hing are thus alluded to in the following hymns of the Atharvaveda:—

"This thunderbolt shall take its fill of order,
Scare life away and overthrow the kingdom.
Tear neeks in pieces, send the hopes assumer,
Even as the lord of might the seck of Vritra-

Down, down beneath the conqueror, let form not rise, concealed in earth, but he down-amitten, with the bolt.

Seek out the lieves appresent, yes, atrike only the oppresent dead.

Down on the force oppressor's head strike at full length, O thunderbolt." (A. V., V.I. 188.)

Loudly be round. Here let him labour deftly.
 Spread, Agni, over species earth and heaven.

Let Marats who possess all reasures yeld thee. Bring him who reverently paid obligations.

- Though he he far away, let the red horses bring, Indra, bring the sage to us and friendship, Since with Sautenment the gods for him exerpower Gayatri, Bribati, and hymn of praises.
- King Various call their fitter from the waters!
 From hill, and morntaine Some call the hither!
 Let Index call thee hither to these people.
 Fig hither to these people as a falson.
- 4. May the hawk being the man who must be summored.

From far away, is alreatened, an earle.

May both the Asvins make thy path-way easy.

Come and unite yourself with him, ye kinsmen.

Let thine opponents call then back.
 Thy friends have chosen then again.
 Indra and Agai, all the gods have kept thy home amid the tribe.

He who disputes our calling thee, he he a stranger or akin,

Drive him, O Indra, far away, and do thou bring this man to us." ** (A. V., III 2.)

The Tuittiriya Sambita also enjoins a sacrifice so for the purpose of averting an impending expulsion of a king as follows:—

"'O Aditi, do than confirm'; with these words he who is being expelled should take the fort-dust of him (who is expelling). 'Aditi is this earth. Verily she confirms the kingdom for him.'" (II. 4. 1.)

The peaceful and quiet performances of necessary sacrifices in accordance with the belief of those times to celebrate the grand events of the election of a new king or of the re-teration of an exiled king churly indicates that it was no revolutionary set attended with blondshed. Nor is there afty resum to suppose that kingship during the Vedic period, whether elective or hereditary, was quite insecure and that no king's life was safe. Considering the frequent election of kings to vacareles caused by death or expulsion of elected chiefs on account of their anfitness, the election and restoration because that are still preserved to the Vedas appear to be too few. To interpret them as a sure sign of the insecurity of royal power is to forget the necessity which the invading Arvans had for showing their united front against the hostile aboriginal tribes. The spells, charms, and sacrifices, performed by chiefs to recover their last sovereignty or the loyal affection of their kinsmen or of the people at large point rather to the natural administrative difficulty of the times than to tyrangent designs of the royal class or to the

[&]quot; Compare A. V., I. Si and III. 4.

^{?&}quot;, For having recurre to sacrifice as a political weapon, see Appendix [

turbulent nature of the people. So long as the kings made no attempts to establish herelitary monarchies in the place of elective unmarchy of the early period, they could rely on the strong support of the priests and the people against their elansmen. It is only at a later period of the history of the Aryans in India that we bear of a terrible interpecine civil was between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, as illustrated by the coullet between Visyamitra and Vasishibia and Parasurana and the Kartaviryas. By that time the Aryani seem to have succeeded in so firmly establishing themselves in the land and in so skilfully and carefully solving the race-question by taking the aboriginal Sudms into the Avyan fold, extending to them the right of connection and commonsalism that there was no alien care-question at the time of the rivil war to make the situation worse for the Aryans. It follows: therefore, that royal power was nother moreone nor elective sometimes and hereditary at others, as Macdonell and Keith are inclined to believe. 2 !

It was quite secure and was quite powerful to show its united front to the lastile Dusyns or natives so as to Aryanise them partly by conquest and partly by concileatory measures. It was also elective and of the same constitutional type that is still prevalent in the South Indian States of Travancore and Cockin, of which it is, as will be seen later on, the source. This elective measurehy continued till it was set aside by becellitary nomarchy comewhere about the times of Visyamitra and Parasorama **

¹¹ Vedic Index, Vol. (1, p. 911.

^{#1 1700} B. C. (See Gavers Ayana, the Fodle Sea.)

LECTURE III

THE ORIGIN OF THE KSHATHIYAS

Before going to read my paper on the Origin of the Kehatriyas, I think it recovery to down your attention to some of the important points noted to my paper on "The Evolution of Castes," which I read in the Mythic Society at Bangalore some years ago.

I. The most important point to which I want to draw your attention is the meaning of the word caste. Caste means a social oxclusiveness with reference to diet and marriage. So long as a Hindu, whether a Brahman, Kahatriya, Vaisya or Sudra, observes his social or communal rules about the articles of diet he eats and about the woman he marries, he is regarded to maintain his caste and to loss it the moment he refringes the rules of dietary and marriage. Birth and rituals are secondary, for there is evidence to prove that the offspring of Brahmans and non-Brahman women used to become Brahmans and that religious rites were changed from time to time.

Even new all that people care to know about a man's observance of his caste is where he eats and what he cate and whom he has married. These two things are visible while birth and observance of rituals are invisible. The Lords and Commons of England, now two classes, will become two eastes the moment they cause to intermarry and interding with each other.

II. The next point to be noticed is that the Hindus of the pre-Buddhistic period had no such rules of diet and marriage as prevented them from interdining and intermarrying with other people. Animal food and liquor also formed part of their diet. 30

They married women of other races also. Usually a Brahman had four wives corresponding to the four chases; Kehatrica, three ; Vaisya, two ; and a Sadra one or many of his own class. They all employed Sudra cooks in their houses. Some begotten by Brahmans on non-Brahman women were free to exercise the functions of Brahmans." Hence the words, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras were names of classes rather than of easter during the pre-Buddhistie period.

III. With the appearance of Enddhoun, all the changed. Though Buddhism did not preach caste, it velocmently. denounced certain customs, the disappearance of which brought about caste into existence. It denounced fleshenting and plurality of waves and denied Nirvana to those who were addicted to annual meritires, thesh-eating and sexual indulgency. The Brahmann gave up those two condemned customs and, as a small, formed themselves into castes mainly with the intention of keeping up their dietary and marriage rules. The other classes, 100, followed them and formed separate context.

This is the summary of my paper on the eculation of castes and as the second part of that paper has important bearing on the subject under consideration, I am going to read it before you once more.

If words have their own biography to tell, as Professor Max Muller ones put it, there are some Vedic words and hymne that appear to tell a tale different from what later Purante writers took them to mean. The words that appear to have played an important

As Pale Apparamba.

¹⁴ Vale Lityligans, IN 2 0 and apparents, II, 5, II

part in the history of the origin of the Kshatriya class are
(1) Brahmajāya, (2) Brahmagavi, (3) Vaša, (4) Prisni, (5)
Go, and (6) Kāmadhena. Of these the first five are Vedic
and the last Purame. The literal meaning of the first
word 'Brahmajāya' is the wife of a Brahman or priest,
and it is used in that sense both in the Rigorda (X. 109)
and the Atharvavela. (V. 17). Her abduction by a
Kshatriya or rather a Kshatriya King and her subsequent
restoration to her bushand, the priest, form the subject
matter of the two hymns in which that word occurs.

The word 'Brahmagavi' means the cow of a Brahman or priest and is used in that sense in the fifth hymn of the twelfth Kanda of the Athaevavella.

The word "Vasa," a barron or powerful cone, as interported by Sayana and others, is found in the fourth hymn of the twelfth Kamla of the same V-da

The word 'Go, 'a Brahman's or priest's cow, is found to the eighteenth and nineteroth hymne of the fifth Kanda of the Atharvaveds. The disastrous consequences that would befull a Kahateiya or King, if he were to rob a priest of his new, are elaborately described in these four hymne.

The word 'Prisni,' a wonderful row, needs in the eleventh hymn of the lifth Kanda of the Atharvaveda, and the subject matter of that beam is a conversation between Varuna and no Atharvan priest about the possession of a wonderful core bestowed by the former on the latter.

The story of a terrible war between Visyamitra, a Puranic King, who is said to have become a Brahman by the performance of a penance, and Vasishtha, a Vedic priest, on account of the latter's Kâmadhenu or desire-giving cow which Visyamitra is said to have attempted to take for himself by force is claborately described in all the Puranas. Likewise the story of the destruction of King

Kartavirya and his family and also of other Kshatriyas by Parasurama to average the death of his father Jamadagai who was murdered by Kartavirya for the sake of the priest's cow is found in almost all the Peranas. Almost all oriental scholars have followed Savana in taking the words, Brahmagavi, Vasa, Prisni, (in, and Kamadhenst to mean a row of extraordinary powers in the possession of such famous Vedie priests as Vasishtha, Jamadagoi, and others. But line 33 of the fourth hymn of the lifth Kamla of the Atharvaveda, where \asa or a row is said to be the mother of a Rajanya or King, seems to suggest that the so-called cow is not a quadraged beast but a woman, the same as Brahmajaya or a priest's wife whose abduction by Kahatriyas seems to have been the cause of a number of fends between the Brahmans on the one land and the Kahatriyas on the other. If reliance can be placed upon this plain interpretation of the word, Vasa, and if it can be extended to all the cow-hymns; then what has hitherto appeared to be an inexplicable muth resolves itself jute a credible historical episode, evidencing an institution or custom, the like of which is still prevalent in what is called the land of Parasirania, i.e., the States of Travaneore and Cochin. The peculiar Vedic custom that can be based upon this interpretation and which has become extinct outside the States of Travancore and Cochin appears to have been somewhat as follows :-

There seems to have been an institution of women, called Brahmajayas, Brahmagavis, Vasas or Cows, whom the priests had the exclusive privilege to marry. The Kshatriya class seems to have been the result of the union of these women with the Brahman priests. The eldest son of the high priest and the chief Brahmajaya seems to have been invested with radiog powers while the sons of other priests and other Brahmajayas formed a band of

soldiers or militia. Neither the king nor the soldiers seem to have been allowed to marry. The fifth verse of the Brahumjaya laymo where a bachelor is said to have restored to Bribaspati or the chief priest, his consort seems to suggest the above ides. The kings of several states seem to have protested against this custom and themselves married the Brahmajayas or Brahmagayis. This breach of custom on the part of the Kahatriyan apparently brought about the necasional fends between the Brahmans and the Kahatriyas, as implied by the Brahmajava and other bymus. The war between Visyamitra and Vasislita as well as that between Parasurama and Kartavicya seem to have been. due to the same enuse. Visyamitra seems to have fought. for the right of Kahatriyas to marry and appears to have brought about the marriage of Rams, Lakshmana, Bharata, and Satrughna with the feater daughters of Januka and his brother, as a protest against this emittee. This violation of the custom on the part of Viscaspites, seems to have provoked Parasmama and Ind him to seage war with Rama and his brothers on their way to Ayothya after the marriage. It is probable that Parasurama, the champion of the Brahmans, failed in his attempt to subdue the Kahatriyas and to re-establish the privileged custom of the priestly class. It is also probable, though partly contrary to the Puranic version of the story, that being defeated and driven out by the victorious Kahatriyas, he came with a few followers to the west-most of South India and set up a eclony there, perpetuating the old custom, which is still prevalent in Travancore and Cochin and which is attributed to him. It appears that the roling kings in these two states are princes begotten by a family or sect of Brahman priests on a successive line of princesses or queens like the Vedie Brahmajaras whose male issues were originally, though not now, obliged to live a celebate life with rolling

powers, while the female issues became the queens of the state in succession. There is no marriage system among the Nayars, nor do the women confine themselves to a single husband. The Brahmans in these states are railed Nambudris and they observe the Vedic customs. The following extracts, taken out from Thurston's Carles soil Tribes of Southern Inter and Geyn! Panikar's Malabar and its Falk, corroborate the above facts :-

"As recorded in the Keralamahatmya, tradition traces the Nambudria to Abikabetra, whence Parasurams invited Brahmans to settle to his newly reclaimed territory. In view of preventing the invited settlers from relimpushing it he is said to have introduced, on the advice of the sage Narada, cortain deep and distinctive changes in their personal, domestic, and communal institutions. "15

"Writing in the rightseath century, Hamilton observes that the Numbusless are the liest in both cameities of Church and State, and some of them are Poper, being sovereign princes in both," at

"He is perhaps, as his measurements seem to prove, the truest Aryan in Southern India, and not only physically, but in his customs, habits and acrementes which are so welded into him that foreske them be cannot, if he would."57

"Every Numberly is, theoretically, a life-long student of the Vedas, "Ja

"The eldest son alone marries. Should a Nambudri's eldest son die, the next marries and so mr. Women join the family of their husband and to this too her children belong If there is no male member, the Sarvasvadanam

V Castra and Tribes of Southern Ladis, Vol. V, p. 154.

²⁰ Iber, p. 150.

⁴⁷ Just, p. 107.

¹⁴ Did, p. 190

marriage is performed by which a man of another family is brought into the family and married to a daughter of it, who, after the manner of the "appointed daughter" of old Hindu Law, bands on the property through her children."50

"An exception to this general rule of inheritance is that seventeen families of Payanmus in North Malabar follow the Marumakkattayam system of inheritance through the female line. The other Nambudris look askance at these, and neather marry nor dipe with them. It is supposed that they are not pure lived, having Kahatriya blood in their veins."

"Hamilton, writing concerning Malabar at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, says, that "when the Zamorin marries, be must not cohabit with his bride till the Nanabadri or chief priest has onjoyed her, and, if he pleases, may have three nights of her company, because the first feuit of her suptials must be an holy obtation to the god he worships, and some of the nobles are so complained as to allow the clergy the same tribute, but the common people cannot have that compliment paid to thurs, but are forced to supply the priest's place themsolves." **

Their legendary transmigration to Malabar from Northern India is doubtless true. There is by far the purest form of the Vedic Brahmanism to be met with in Southern India. A complete account of the religion of the Nambudri's life is a round of sacrifices, the last of which is the burning of

[&]quot; Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. V., p. 176

[&]quot; fout, p. 177

^{**} Philip 176

his body on the funeral pyre. When the Nambudri has no male issue, he performs the Putrakameshti or Karmavipåka Pråyasehittam Vågams or socrifices to obtain it "12

"According to the Brahman tradition, the Nayar easteis the result of union between the Numbudge with Dava, Gandharva, and Rakshasa women introduced by Parasurama; and this tradition embodies the audoubted fact that the caste by its practice of hypergamy has had very large infusion of Arvan blood."14

"The original Nayars were undoubtedly a military body, holding lands and serving as a militia, but the present Nayas caste includes persons who, by headitary orcapation, are traders, artisms, oil mongers palanquin bearers, and even burbers, and washermen."11

"They (the Bealmans) are the limb of the soil, powers. ing large powers for oppression and domination over the labouring classes, the Nayace. All the domestic concerns of the Navar-, all their social intercounces, all their fiberty of thought and setion are regulated by the arbitrary will of the Realman priests. Not one of them, in their true capacity, is allowed to move his little linger except on consultation with the Brahman priceto, and disobedienes to their orders is often visited with their displeasure and the resulting deprivation of their means of livelihood and banishment from society."

"The Aryan Brahmans, when they came into the country, had the same social organisation as exists among their successors to due. Their laws strictly ordain that only the eldest member of the household shall be left free to enter into lawful wedlock with a woman of their caste, the

¹² Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. V. Dail, p. 225.

^{**} p. 311.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 28%

¹⁴ Philips yr. 281

younger members being left to shift for themselves in this matter. In ancient times the only asylum which these latter could find in the existing state of their social circonstances was in the Navar families which settled round about them. It should, in this connection, be remembered that the Brahmane formed an aristocratic order, and as such they were the exclusive custodians and expositors of the law. Naturally enough, too large numbers of Brahman younger sons who were looking about for wives, turned to the Navar families and began to enter into illegitimate union of the nature of emenhinage. Now the sanctity of formal and religious marriages was incompatible with looseness and degradation involved in those (llegitimate unions; and Brahman ingensity discovered a ready means of getting over the difficulty by a social probibition of valid marriages among the Nayars, which would atherwise have prejudically interfered with their corriagal destinies." +=

In order to show how far the Vedic hymne. Brahmajaya, 'Brahmagaxi,' Vasa,' 'Primi,' and 'Go,' convey
ideas analogous with the customs observed in Malabar
from time immemorial, I have quoted below those
hymne together with their English rendering, as made by
the late Ralph T. H. Griffith. All that is to be borne in
mind for the their anderstanding of the hymne is that
the word row is not a quadraped beast, but a metaphorical
expression manning a waman belonging to an institute
of women under the power of the priestly class, for there is
no evidence to believe that the Kakariyas were cattlelifters and that they robbed the Brahmans, their own
priests, of their few cours when they had before them the

⁴º Malabar and its Folk, by Gopal Pasikar, 2nd addition, pp. 12 and 30.

precious and invaluable wealth of the early settlers of India, compared with which the value of the poor Brahmans' cows was quite insignificant. Not is there any evidence to believe that the Brahmans gave expression to such furious and shominable threats and curses on the Kahatrivas and their kingdom for the sake of a new or a number of come while, on the centrary, they received as presents from the kings several cows on occasions like merifices and commutious of hings, as explicity stated in a number of Vedic hymns,

The hydron on the Brahmajaya (Rigveda, X. 109 and Atharvayeda, V. 17) runs as follows :-

- "1. These first, the boundless sea, and Matarisvan, flerce-glowing fire, the strong, the Bhus-bestower, and beavenly flouds, text horn by holy order, exclaimed against the outrage on a Brilingan, 'A
- 2. King Soma first of all, without reluctance, made restitution of the Bushman's consent. Mites and Varuna were the invitees. Agai as lintar tank her band and led her. 45
- 3. The man, her plodge, must be the hand be taken when he beth eriod. She is a Brahman's consort. stayed not for a herald to conduct here thus is the kingdom of a rules granted, 10

[&]quot; The rabbetted the house, parts of which on taken from Rigreda-X. 100, in this abdition by a Katatriya of a Herbinian's wife, and her subsequent restoration to for bashead. The Rigreda forms centains only seven stances, employing with atmost II of the Atherraceda hymp. Sea : The owner of my. Materiarus : probably word. From Agust The Strong: India. Blue-hostowers, Spray, Courage on a Brubruin : Bestron's sin according to Sayara. See note on stanza 5.

^{**} Wase the invoters incode as interpolary, or match unkers at the renewed marriage.

^{**} Her please: her species. There he charrying justice and causing the abducted wife to be restored. These three stances correspond, with slight variations to starres J.A.-I tim Rigarda byum,

- 4 She whom they call the star with loosened tresses, descending as a misfortune on the village, the Brahman's consort, she disturbs the kingdom where bath appeared the hare with fiery flashing.
- Active in duty serves the Brahmacheri; he is a member of the Ged's own body. Through him Brihaspati obtained his consert, as the gods gained the ladle brought by Sema.⁵¹
- 6. Thus upake of her those of old, seven Rishis, who sat them down to their anstern devotion. Dire is a Real-man's wife led home by others; in the supremest heaven she plants confusion.⁶?
- When indants die, untimely born, when berds of cartle waste away, when herews strike each other dead, the Brahman's wife destroyed them.
- Even if ten former hanhands,—none a Brahman had esponsed a dame, and then: a Brahman took her hand, he is her husband, only he

[&]quot;The real same of the minfurcious hits/but-of-in material influence in some diverspect shows to a fluence's wife. Have with dayy flashing. Some metancic phenomena.

[&]quot;Regress, X. 199, a trademachers a years in the first stage of a Brahamer's religious life; a religious states. Relicoped Out is, the injured Brahamer, Brihamperi representing the accordated does. The ladde, juliant, which Professor Ledwig takes to be the indy's name; "Julia, O Guds, conducted home to Sama." The meaning is obscure. A legued awared to Sayama says that Julia or Fak, the wife of Brihampari when is identified with Brohams, but been described by her hardwald. The gods them consolind together as to the unions of explaining his sin, and restored her to her husband. The legued has evidently grown out of the minustrestanting of the assistat hymn.

^{**} Stama 4 of Rigrada bywa. Seven Riskin: reinbrated saints, sages and inspired seems of suctent times; Bhuradveja, Kanyapa, Gotama, Atri, Vanishta, Visvanitos, and Jamedagul.

- 9. Not Vaisva, not Rajanya, no, the Brahman is indeed her lord. This Surva in his course proclaims to the five vaces of mankind. 12
- 10. So then the gods restored her, so men gave the woman back again. Princes who kept their promises restored the Brahman's wedded wife. **
- 11. Having restored the Beahman's wife, and freed themselves, with Ood's aid, from sin, they shared the fullness of the earth and won themselves extended sway. " "
- 12. No lovely wife brings her dower in hondreds, rests upon his bed, within whose kingdom is detained, through want of seme, a Brahman's wife.""

^{**} Rajustra Non of the noticing and princely class. Kniestry o.

^{**} Stancy fi of the Bigwella hypon.

At Street 7 of the Hige old from.

^{**} Main absorption at the end of his translation of the most Riggeria portion of the home (O. S. Texos, 1. p. 291); "This home appears to show that, however extrement the preteration of the Brateman were in other respects, they had, even at the comparatively has period when it was composed, but hite regard to the parity of the invertical bleed, as they not only intereses built much assume of their new order, or even with romen who had presumity tradingly, but were in the behit of forming unless with the wistons of Majoures as Valegos, if they did mit even take personalise of the wires of their sors while they were abled. Even if we suppose these nomes to linco belonged to priestly families. this would note alone that it was so accommon thing for females of that class in he nurried to Reporter or Yannan-n het which would, of course, imply that the custe system may nither bady observed, or only beginning to be introduced among the Indians of the surfer Velic ago That, agreeably to secural tradition. Brahmons intermatrial Rajanya wamen at, the period in question, it also distinctly shows by the story of the Richi Chyacom and Sutunca, daughter of Saryata, partition in the Satapatha Bankmann, and quested in my paper extitled "Contributions to a knowledge of Vario Mystology," No. II, in the Journal of the Americ Scopety for 1890, p. 11 ff. See also the stories of the Right Synthern, who maryied the flangings of King Ruthuelti,na told by the commentator on Ligoria V 61, and given in Professor Wilson's translation, Vol. III, p. 34 &

- 13. No broad-browed ealf with wide-set ears is ever in his homestead born, within whose kingdom is detained, through want of sense, a Brahman's dame.
- 14. No steward, golden-necklaced, goes before the ment trays of the man within whose kingdom is detained through want of sense, a Brahman's dame.
- 16. No filly grows with eval halfs, no letus pool is in his fields, in whose dominion is detained, through senseless love, a Brahman's dame.
- 17. The men whose task it is to milk drain not brindled cow for him, in whose dominion is detained, through senseless lave, a Brahman's slame.
- 18. His milehours deth and profit one, his droughtox masters not the year, who aver, -vered from his wife, a Brahman spends the meansful night.

A few words in explanation of the hymn will not be uncalled for before handling the other Valle hymne.

Though Grillith has succeeded in making a correct and faithful translation of the hymn, he made no attempt to find out a connected ounning of the whole hymn and disposed of it by saving that it is partly obscure.

Mair attempted to explain the byom on the supposition that Behamars macried the walows of Rajanyas and Vaisyas and even formed unions with their wives while they were alive. Evidently this supposition is inconsistent with the meaning of the word 'Brahmajaya,' Brahman's wife. Neither can a Rajanya's or Vaisya's wife be a Brahman's wife, too a Brahmachari, backelor, finds no explanation on this supposition.

On the authority of Kausika Sutra which Sayana has quoted at the heading of each of the hymns quoted here, he says that when a cow is seized (gobarane), this

hymn as well as the other bymas quoted here are to be recited and rites of sorrery performed. It follows therefore that Brahmajava, Brahmagavi and Vasa are synonymone words and mean a Brainnan's wife. From verse \$3 of the fourth hymn of the twelfth book, where the new is said to be the mother of a flaganya, it is clear that the offspring of the priest and his special consort is a prince. As Savana attributes the authorship of some of those hours to Parasurama" and as the offspring of a tlyahrang of a chosen family and his queen consuct is a bachelor king in the land of Parasurama, the States of Travaneous and Cochin, it is not unreasonable to take the word Brahmachary, mentioned in year 5 of the above hymn, to be the offspring of the couple, Brahmar and Brahmajaya. The Kahatriyan and Vanyan oven to have protested against this exclusive privilege of the practs to beget princes and prevented them from marrying or approaching the socalled Brahmajayas who, it appears, formed a set class, or family, of woman under the protection of the State, as in Travaneury and Corlan. The statement, made in verse 9 of the above hymn that neither Rajanya mur a Valsya can be a bushacel of the Brahmajaya, is evidently a rejoinder of the Brahmans to the protect of the Kehatriyes and Varsyas. Both May and the authors of the Mahabharata, Ramayana and the Purauan in which the story of the terrible wars for the sake of a cow is parrated appear to have found the inappropriateness of these threafs, imprecations, and sures with the occasional or frequent attempts of the Kabstreyas to rob the Brahmans of their quadrapeds. Hence Morr seems to have taken

²⁷ I remember to have room across this statement at the heading of our of those bysom in the formularities of the Attarvaveds. It does not appear in the Bomber colitics.

the word 'go,' cow, in an extended sense of property, while the authors of the Puranas aftributed supernatural powers to those animals. I think that both these attempts to explain the obscure Vedic hymns are wrong, for there is no reason to believe that though there were occasional or frequent family fonds or wars between Visyamitra and Vasishtha, Intween Kartavirvarium and Parasoruma, and between a few other Kabatricas and Brahmans, sometimes for the sake of a row and other times for specified reasons, life and property were not so inscence among the invading Vedic Indians as to suppose that the Kekatriyas were rattle-lifters and were in the habit of robbing the Brahmana of their movable and immovable property. I think that if the interpretation I have suggested were to be accepted, none of these inconsistencies and improbabilities would crop up, and a natiofactory explanation of a hitherto mexplicable custom, prevalent in Travaneous and Cochin, would be forthcoming. I do not think that the legal world is sprite satisfied with the matter-of-fact explanation of the poculiar Malahar custom of inhariting the property through the female line only among the Kehatriyas, while in the rest of India it is through the male line among all classes of people.

Also in this connection Mair observes regarding the practice of remarriage of women and of intermarriage among the foor classes: "That the remarriage of women was customary among the Hindus of those days is also shown by A. V., IX. 5, 27, quoted in my paper on Yama, Journal of the Royal Assatic Society for 1865, p. 299. This latter supposition (the supposition of Brahmans taking possession of the wives of Rajanyas or Vaisyas while they were alive) derives a certain support from the emphasis with which the two verses in question (Atharvaveda, V. 17, 8, 9), assert that the Brahman was the only true husband.

Whence, it may be asked, the measury for this strong and repeated asseveration, if the Rajanya and Vaisya husbands were still alive, and proposed to claim the restoration of their wives! The verses are, however, explicable without this supposition.

It is to be observed, however, that no mention is here made of Sudras as a class with which Brahmans intermarried. Sudras were not Aryas like the three upper classes. This distinction is recognised in the following verse of the Atharvaveda (X1X.65, 1, * Make me dear to gods.' From Mann (IX 142-157, X.7) it is clear that Brahmans intermarried with Sudra women, though the offspring of those marriages was degraded."

With this explanation of obscure words and phrases, let us turn our attention to the other Vedic hymns, having a wonderful new for their nutiest matter.—

The hymn on Healmagar: (A. V., XII 5) rons as follows -

- 1. "Created!" by toil and hely foreser, found by devotion, resting in right.
- 2. Invested with truth, surrounded with honour, compassed about with glory ;
- Girt round with inhount power, fortified with faith, protected by conservation, restailed at sacrifice, the world her resting place;
- 4 Brishma her guide, the Brahman her lord and ruler;
- 5. Of the Kahatriya who taketh to himself this Brahman's cow and appressed the Brahman;

[&]quot;The byme which is partly in power is a continuation of Hymna, incubating, will more berridy. the sea and diagrar of robbing a Bendman of his care.

- 6. The glory, the beroism, and the favouring fortune depart;
- The energy and vigour, the power and might, the speech and mental strength, the glory and duty;
- Devotion and princely ever, kingship and people,
 brilliance and honour, and splendour and wealth;
- 9. Long life and goodly form, and name and fame, inbreathing and expression, and sight and howing;
- (0) Milk and flavour, and food and nourishment, and right and truth, and action and fulfilment, and children and cattle;
- 11. All these blessings of Kalistriya depart from him when he opposed the Brahman and taketh to himself the Brahman's cow.
- 12. Terrible is she, this Brukman's cow, and fearfully venomous, veible witcheruft.
 - 18. In her are all horney and all draths.
- 14. In her are all-dreadful decole, all slaughters of mankind.
- 15. This the Brahman's cow, being appropriated, heldeth bound to the fatter of death the apprenumer of the Brahman, the blasphermer of the gods.
- A humbred-killing holt is the ; she slays the Brahman's injurer;
- Therefore the Brahman's cow is held inviolable by the wise.
- Running is also a thursderbolt, when driven away also is Vaisvanara.
- 10. An arrow when she draweth up her hooves and Mahadeva when she lookath around.
- 20. Sharp as a razor when beholdeth, she thundereth when she belloweth.
- Death is she when loweth, and a flerce god when she whisketh her tail.

- "2. Utter destruction, when she moveth her ears this way and that, consumption when she droppeth water.
- 23. A missile when milking, pain in the head when milked.
- The taking away of strength when she approacheth, a hand-to-hand fighter when roughly touched.
- Wounding like an arrow when she is fastened by her mouth, contention when she is beaten.
- 26. Fearfully renomous when felling, darkness when she bath fallen down.
- Fallowing him, the Brahman's own extinguisheth the vital breath of the injurer of the Brahman.
- 28. Hostility when being cut to pieces: Wen to children when the portions are distributed.
- A destructive missile of gods when she is being seized; misforture when carried away.
- 30. Minery while being additionally acquired, conturnely and above while being put in the stall.
- 31. Poison when in agitation, fever when seasoned with condiments.
- 32. Sin while the is contring, svil dream when she is cooked.
- Uprooting when she is being turned round, destruction when she hath been turned round.
- 34. Discord by her smell, grief when she is being eviscenated; a surpost with poison in its lang when drawn.
- 35. Loss of power while sacrificially presented, humiliation when she hath been offered.
- Wrathful Sarva while being carved, Simida 19 when ent up.

^{**} Simila: apparently a female drawn, or a discuss attributed to her influence.

- 37. Poverty while she is being eaten, destruction when eaten.
- 38. The Brahman's cow when eaten cuts off the injurer of Brahmans both from this world and from the world vender.
- 39. Her slaughter is the sin of witcheraft, her cutting up is a thunderbolt, her undigested grass is a scoret spell.
 - 40. Homelessness is she when denied her rights.
- 41. Having become flesh-eating Agui, the Brahman's cow entereth into and devoureth the oppressor of Brahmans.
 - 42. She nunders all his members, joints and roots.
- 43. She cuts of relationship on the father's side and destroys maternal knowley.
- The Brahmun's cow not restored by a Kshatriya, runs the marriages and all the kinsmen of the Brahmun's approxime.
- 45. She makes him houseless, handless, childless: he is extinguished without porterity to succeed him.
- 16. So shall it be with the Kahatriya who takes to himself the cow of the Brahman who kath this knowledge.
- 47. Quickly, when he is smitten down by death, the clamorous vultures cry.
- 48. Quickly around his foneral fire dance women with dishevelled locks, striking the band upon the breast and uttering their evil thrick.
- 10. Quickly the wolves are howling in the habita-
- 50. Quickly they ask about him, what is this? What thing hath bappened here?
- _ 51. Rend, rend to pieces, rend away, destroy, destroy him utterly.
- 52. Destroy Angirasi! the wretch who mbs and wrongs the Brahmans.

- 53. Born of evil womb, then witcheraft bid, for Vaisvadevi is the name.
- 54. Consuming, burning all things un, the thunderbolt of spell and charm.
- 55. Go than, becoming Meitra sharp as raxor's edge. pursue thy course.
- 56. Thou bearest off the tyrant's strength, their store of merit and their prayers.
- 57. Bearing off wrong, then givest in that world to him who hath been wronged.
- 58. O new, become a tracker through the curse the Brahman bath pronounced.
- 50. Become a bolt, an arrow through his sin, be terribly venomeus.
- 40. O early, break thou the head of him who wrongs the Brahmans, criminal, suggest, blasphemer of the gods.
- 61. Let Agni the spiteful weetch when crushed to death and claim by thee.
- 62. Rend, rend to bit, must through and through, scorch and consume and burn to dest.
- 83. Consume them, even from the root, the Brahman's tyrant, godlike gow!
- 64. That he may go from Yama's home afar into the worlds of sin.
- 65. So, goddess cow, go then from him, the Brahman's tyrant, criminal, niggrand, blasplemer of the gods.
- 66. With handred-knotted thouderbolt, sharpened and edged with many blades.
 - 67. Strike off the shoulders and the head.
- 68. Snatch then the hair off his head, and from his body strip the skin.
- 69. Tear out his sinews, cause his flesh to fall in pieces from his frame.

- 70. Crush then his bones together, strike and beat the marrow out of him.
 - 71. Dislocate all his limbs and joints.
- 72. From the earth let the carnivorous Agni drive him, let Vayu burn him from mid-air's broad region.
- 73. From heaven let Surya drive him and consume him.

ATRARVAVEDA, XII. 4.

- "I. I give the gift, shall be his word: and straightway they have bound the new for Brohman pricets who beg the hoor, that bringeth some and progeny."
- 2. He trades and traffics with his sons, and to his cattle suffers loss who will not give the cow of gods to Rishis' children when they beg. 11
 - 3. They perish through a harnless cow; a lame cow sinks them in a pet. Through a mained cow his house is burnt; an one-eyed cow destroys his wealth.
 - Fierce fever, where her droppings fall, attacks the master of the kine. So have they named her Vasa,* * for thou art called uncontrollable.
 - The malady Viklindu^{4,5} springs on him from ground whereon she stands, and suddenly, from fell disease parish the men on whom she saiffs.
 - 6. Whoever twitches up her ears is separated from the gods. He deems he makes a mark, but he diminishes his wealth thereby.

^{**} On the impressive duty of giving cores to Brahmans, and the sin and danger of withholding the gift.

^{*1} The new of gode that belongs to help pricess.

⁵⁵ Vasa a barren cow, a cow; the surd being familally connected with Vasa, power, authority, control.

^{*} Viklinda: the meaning is uncertain, pechage dissolution, general domy.

^{**} Twitches up her cars in order to brand them ; and mark the now as his own property.

- 7. If to his own advantage one applies the long bair of her tail, his polts, in consequence thereof, die, and the wolf destroys his calves.
- 8. If, while her master owneth her, a carrion crow hath harmed her bair, his young boys the thereof, decline overtakes them after fell disease.
- 9. What time the Davie's woman throws eye on the droppings of the cow, misshapen birth arms thence, inseparable from that sin:
- 10. For gode and firshmans is the new produced when first she springs to life, hence to the priests must she be given; this they call guarding private wealth.
- II. The find-created now belongs to those who come to ask for her. They call it outrage on the priests when one retains her as his own
- 12. He who withholds the cow of the gods from Rishfs' sons who ask the gift is made an alien to the gods and subject to the Brakman's wrath.
- 13. Then let him seek another whatever his profit be in this. The cow, not given, harms a man when he denies her at their prayer-
- 14. Like a viels freesawe stored away in safety is the Brahman's cow. Therefore men come to visit her, with whomsoever also is born.
- 15. So when the Brahmans come unto the cow they come unto their own. For this is her withholding, to oppress these in another life.
- 16. Thus after three years may the go, speaking what is not understood." He, Narada I would know that cow, then Brahmans must be sought unto.

^{**} Davi : of barbarous or insliguous error or slave girl.

^{**} Speaking what is not understood : that is giving warnings which are disregarded. Louising taking gods in "Avijenta gade" as coming from gadem, poison, instead of from Gade, speech translates whose

- [LEC.
- Whose call her a worthless cow, the stored-up treasure of the gods, Bhava and Sarva, both of them, move round and shoot at him.
 - 18 The man who both no knowledge of her udder and the tests thereof, she yields him milk with these, if he hath purposed to hestow the cow. 67
 - If he withholds the row they beg, she is rebellious in his stall.

Vain are the wishes and the larges which he, withholding her, would gain.

- 20. The Deities have begged the caw, using the Brahman as their mouth; the man who gives her not incure the rumity of all the gods.
- 22. If hundred other Brahmans beg the row of bins who ewneth her, the gods have said, she, verily, belongs to him who knows the truth.
- 23. Whose to others not to him who listh this knowledge, gives the core, earth with the Deities, is hard for him to win and rest upon.
- 24. The Detties begged the cow from him with whom at first the was produced: Her, this one, Narada would know: with Detties be drove her facth.
- The cow deprives of progeny and makes him poor in cattle who retains in his possession ber whom Brahmans have solicited.

poison (deally danger of remining her) some both recognized. Narada: a devariable or Richt of the extential class who acts as a reporter between heaven and earth. His name is introduced as an imaginary auditor to make a warning or speech more solemn and authoritative. (J. V. 19-0. The meaning of the standa recess to be that the row must not be remined beyond there years.

[&]quot;The con which the owner intends to bestow to a Brahman will give him milk without the treable of milking her.

- 26. For Agni and for Soma, for Kama, Mitra and Varuna, for these the Brahmans ask from these is he who giveth not estranged.
- 27. Long as her owner halb not heard, himself, the verses, 48 let her move among his kine; when he heard, let her not make her home with him.
- 28. He who hath heard her verses and still makes ber roam among his kine, the gods to anger rend away his life and his prosperity.
- 29. Roaming in many a place the cow is the stored treasure of the gods. Make manifest thy shape and form when she would seek" her dwelling place; then verily the cow attends to Brahman priest and their request.
- 3). This thought he settles is his mind, this surely goth to the gods. They verily the Brahman priests approach that they may beg the cour.
- S2. By Syutha to the Pathers, by sacrifice to the Deities, by giving them the cow, the prince doth not incur the mother's wrath.
- 23. The Prince's muther is the raw: an was it ordered from of old. She, when bestowed upon the priests, cannot be given back, they say
- 34. As molten butter, held at length, drops down to Agni from the scorp, so falls away from Agni he who gives no row to Brahman prieste.
- 55. Good milker, with rice-cake?" as calf, she in the world comes night to him, to him who gave her as a gift the row grants every hope and wish.

^{**} The verses : the body nexts revited by the Brokmans who ask fur her as their fee.

^{**} Would seek | praised (as suggested by Whitney, Index Ver. became limited of jighnesati of the rest.

¹⁴ Riceanke Pershen a sacrificial cate of propost rice nearly divided into pieces and afferred in our or more requi-

- 36. In Yama's realm the cow fulfils each wish for him who gave her up : but bell, they say, is for the man who, when they beg, bestow her ant.
- 37. Enraged against her owner roams the cow when she hath been imprograted. He deemed me frontless, is her thought; let him be bound in snares of death, " !
- 38. Wheever looking on the cow as fruitless, cooks her flesh at home, Britaspati compele his sons and children to beg.
- The animal is bappy when it is bestowed upon the priests; but happy is the now when she is made a merifice to guds.
- 11. Narada chose the terrible vilipti" out of all the cows which the gods formed and framed when they had risen up from merifice.
- 44. The gods considered her in doubt whether she were a cow or not, Narada spake of her and said, The veriest row of ooms in sho.

[&]quot; Pent, Rusy almoyer in the balls." That more were killed at the time of receiving most distinguished greats in stared in the Swellin. But, an Seyann observes, which entirely turnes with the opinions held now-a-days, this yearon belongs to former Yagus (periods of the world). Though the word Gogless, et, con-killer, meson in the more ancient Sanskrit looks "s gross" (are the communications on Pagini. 3,4,73) for the reception of a highly respected must wan the death of the cow of the Louise." Acrosting to Apartonium Aphorisms on the Sacred faw of the Bliefus, the Santaka or citeboar who has completed his conven of refigures entry, whom he speaks of a row that is not a milel-cow is not to my "she is not a milelenes" but "But this is a comwhich will become a solch row." See Second Books of the East, Vol. II., p. 10.

Fruitless: Veheranc; a rew which habitually miscarries, and which may therefore be elangitized when a king or another mandeserves high furnite" in its he received (Altarit's Brahmana, J. 15).

^{**} Vilepus literally, beamoured or mointed.

- 43. How many cows, O Narada, knowest thou, born among mankind I ask thee who dost know, of which must none who is no Brahman sat?
- t4. Vilipti, cow, and she who drope no second calf, Brihaspati! Of these none but a Brahman should eat if he hope for eminence.
- 45. Homage, O Narada, to thee who hast quick knowledge of the saws. Which of these is the direct, whose withhelding bringeth death to man?
- 46. Vilipti, O Brihaspati, cow, mother of no second calf; of these none, not a Brahman should eat if he hope for eminence.
- 47. Thresfold are kine, Vilipti, cow, the mother of no second calf: these one should give to priests, and he will not offend Prajapet.
- 48. This, Brahmans? is your service: thus should one think when he is asked, what time they bug from him the cow fearful in the withholder's house.
- 40. He gave her not to us, or spake the gods, in anger, of the cow. With these same verses they addressed Bheds, 7 this brought him to his death.
- 50. Solicited by Indra, still Blieds refused to give this cow. In strife for victory the gods destroyed him for that sie of his.
- 51. The men of evil counsel who advised refusal of the now, miscreants through their faolishness, are subjected to Indra's wrath.
- 52. They who seduce the owner of the cow and say, bestow her not, encounter through their want of sense the missile shot by Rudra's hand.

¹³ Birds: nothing further appears to be known of this man who referred to give his one to below.

- 53. If in his home one cooks the cow, sacrificed or not sacrificed, wronger of gods and Brahmans, he departs, dishonest, from the world
- The gods, O Prince, have not bestowed this row on thee to eat thereof. Seek not, Rajacya, to devour the Brahman's cow which none may eat. 76
- 2. A base Rajanya, spouled at dice, and ruined by himself, may out the thrabman's cow, and think, to-day and not to-morrow, let me live!
- 3. The Brahman's cow is like a snake, charged with dire poison, clothed with skin. Rajanya ! bitter to the taste is the, and none may eat of her.
 - 4. She takes away his strength, she mars his splendoor, she rains everything like fire enkindled. That man drinks poson of the deadly serpent who counts the Brilingan's row as more food to feed him.
 - 5. Whoever smites him, deeping him awakening blasphemer, roveting his wealth through folly, ladra sets five alight within his house. He who agts thus is loathed. by earth and houven.
 - 6. No Brahman must be injured, safe as fire from him who loves himself. For Soma is akin to him and Indea guards him from the curse.
 - The foul who eats the Brahman's food and thinks it pleasant to the taste, eats, but can never digest, the cow that bristles with a hundred baris.
 - His voice is an arrow's neck, his tongue a howstring, his windpipes fire-enveloped heads of arrows, with these the Brahman pierres through blasphemers, with god-sped bows that quell the hearts within them.

^{*} A. V., V 18. The layous doctors the wickedness and religion consequences of opproving and robbing the Brahmaus.

- Keen arrows have the Brahmans, armed with missiles; the shaft, when they discharge it, never faileth.
 Pursuing him with fiery zeal and anger, they pierce the forman even from a distance.
- They who, themselves ten hundred, were the rulers of a thousand men, the Vaitabavyas.
- The cow, indeed, when she was slain, overthrew those Vaitahavyas, who cooked the last she-goat that remained of Kesaraprahandha's flock.
- 1d. One and a hundred " were the folk, those whom the earth shook off " from her r when they had wronged the Brahman's race they perished inconceivably.
- 13. Among mankind the gods' desposer moveth; he hath drunk poison, rought but one is left him, who wrongs the kinsman of the gods, the Brahman, gains not the ephere to which the Fathers travelled.
- 14. Agen, in sooth, is called our guide, Some is called our next-of-kin. India qualle him who course us. Sager know well that this is so
- 15. Prince! like a possened arrow, like a deadly snake. O Lord of Kine! due is the Brahman's arrow; he pierces his enmiss therewith.

^{&#}x27;I Valtaburyas a fields or people to the north; interestly, descendance or people of Venturya. A Ricks of this name appears to be mantioned in Rigresta, VI. 10, a layers ascellant to bins by Sayona. The Valtaburyas are assessmed to the Assessment purvs of the Mahabharata. 1952-1977, where they are said to have been defeated and slain in battle.

^{**} Kesacapushandha I can find no other mention of this woman.

^{**} One and a leaded to unlacky number used with reference to phases of disease, modes of death and the file.

The earth shook off . in horser at their wickedness.

- 1. The sons 18 of Vitahavya, 2" the Stinjayas waxed exceeding strong. They well-nigh touched the heavens, but they wronged Bhrigo and were overthrown
 - 2. When men pieressi Bribatsaman *1 through, the Brahman, son of Augina, the ram with teeth in both his jaws, the sheep, devoured their progeny.
 - 5. If men have spat tron or shot their rheum upon a Brahman, they sit " in the middle of a stream running with blood, devouring hair.
 - 4. While yet the Brahman's cow which men are dressing quivers in her throns, she mars the kingdom's splendour; there no vigorous here springs to life.
 - 5. Terrible is her cetting up; her hitter flesh is cust away. And it is counted an among the fathers if her milk is drunk.
 - 8. If any king who deepes himself mighty would cut a Brahman up, rest and disrupted is that realm where in a Brahman is oppressed.
 - 7. She "1 grows eight-footed, and four-evel, four-eared, four-jawed, two-fased, two-tongued, and shatters down the kingdom of the man who doth Brahman wrong.

The uniques of the hyma 5. V., V. 10 is wickedness and raises. consequences of opposition, robbing or inselling a Brahman.

Veahavya | oes v. 18. 1.

Seinjayas : a poopie to the morth. Ehriger a Rishi regarded as the ancestor of the ancient race of Ehrigen who are frequently mentioned in the Rigreda in consection with Agrit, and who are specially associsted with the Athervaveds Lyones. The story of the everilirow. of the Vaidshavyus in hold in the Mahabburatu Annususupares, 1912-1977, but Blerige is there said to have given refuge to the King Vimharya after his defeat.

[&]quot;I Bribaltonese the name of this descendant of the ancient Rishi Angiras dots not vecur in the Veda, and his story is not mentioned

[&]quot; They sit; after death in the internal regions.

[&]quot; She: the pow.

- S. As water swamps a leaky slop, so ruin overflows that realm. Misfortune smites the realm wherein a Brabman suffers scathe and harm.
- The very trees repel the man, and drive him from their sheltering shade, whoever claims, O Narada, ** the treasure that a Brahman nwas.
- That wealth, King Varous hath said, is poison by the gods prepared. None bath kept watch to guard his realm who bath devoured a Brahman's cow.
- Those nine and ninety "> people whom the earth shook and cast away from her, when they had wronged the Brahman race, were ruined inconscivably.
- 12. Oppressor of the Brahmans; thus the gods have spoken and declared, the step-effecing wisp ** they bind upon the dead shall be thy essen.
- 18. Oppresser of the Brahmans' team wept by the man who suffers wrong, these are the share of water which the gods have destined to be thing.
- 14. The share of water which the gods have destined to be thine, is that, oppressur of the pricet! wherewith men lave the corpor and wet the beard. "!
- 15. The rain of Mitra-Varuna falls not on him who wrongs the priest. To him so command brings success; he wins on friend to do his will.

^{*} Name : a Describe is saint of the coinstal class who often comes down to carely to report what is point on in howen and return with his account of what is being these on earth. Bis neare is introduced to make the warning more selects and impressive.

⁷⁵ Those nine and ninety of V.IA, 12 where they are mid to have been a hundred and one.

¹⁰ The step offseing whep: shiderning the fountept of the dead on his journey to the mine world, so that death may not reach the surviving kinemen by the store path.

¹¹ The heard: to be alayed of belote cretisation.

- How, terrible in might, hast thou here spoken to the great god, how to the gold-hoed. Father? Thy mind watched, gready Varuus, to recover the brindled one thou hadst bestowed as guenlos.
- Not through desire do I revoke my present: I bring this brindled cow to contemplate her. Now by what fore, by what, inherent nature, knowest than all things that exist, Atharvan. **
- Truly I am protocoal to wisdom, truly I know by mature all existing creatures. No Dasa by his greatness, not an Arya, may violate the law that I will establish.
- None, self-dependent Varuna! existeth wiser than then or suger by his wisdom. Then knowest well all these created beings: even the man of wondroos powers fears then.
 - 5. O self-dependent Varuna, wise director, thou knowest verily all generations. What is, unerring one! beyond this region? What more remote than that which is most distant?
 - 6. One thing there is beyond this air, and semething beyond that one most hard to much remotest. I, Varuna, who know, to then declare it. Let churls be mighty in the lower regions. Let Danse sink into the earth beneath them.²⁴

^{1°} This curious hysen compane A. V., V. H. a dialogue between the primeral priest Atherway and Varous atom the presentation of a worderful brindled cow. The goal has branewed the cow spect the priest, and cow retracts his gift. Attention remembers. Attention speaks. Spoken idealarms the promise to give me the cow. The great god heaven. The gold hued before; the same

[&]quot;" Various replies. To contemplate her, or, to count for with the rest of the herst.

[&]quot; In this and the two following maune Athoryso speaks.

^{**} Variant replies : Beyond the air is bested, and beyond that is infulty.

- 7. Many reproaches, Varum, dost thou atter against the misers who revoke their presents. Be not thou added to that crowd of nuggards; let not men call ther an illiberal giver. 22
 - 8. Let not men call me an illiberal giver. I give thee back the brindled cow, O surger. Attend, in every place where men inhabit, with all the powers; the hymnthat tells my praises vo
- 9. Let hymne of praces ascend to thee, uplifted in every place of human habitation. But give me now the gift thou hast given. Thou art my friend for ever time and faithful. " a
- 10. One origin, " Vaccous tune bond motes in: I know the nature of that Common kinship. I give thee now the gift that I extracted I am thy friend for ever firm and faithful.
- II. God, giving life nate the god who hads me, sage, strongthener of the sage who sings my praises, 96 Thou, solf-desendent Vacuus I hast begotten the kinsman of the gods, our sire Athereus. On him bestow most highly handed rockes. Thus art our friend high over all, one kinsman.

The Sachi Paulomi bywn of the Bigreda (X. 169). in which a queen is made to speak in a tone of exultation of her own and of her daughter's imperial sway seems also

⁴² Athoryan sproku

¹¹ Curves sweeks,

¹¹ Adhreran speaks this issued and the limit homistick of 10, Keer from and faithful Septembels, liverally buring taken serves areps " by which as alliance or a marriage is contirmed.

¹⁵ One origin the source Rights frequently assert their kinskip with the gode, as some of Deans or Parker Housen. Parana speaks the agreed homistick and the first of the following status;

¹⁴ Unio the god; the priest Atharma, The second and third lines are spoken by the post of the hymn.

to contain a clear alfusion to the institute of queens.

The hymn runs as follows:—

- "1. You Sun hath mounted up, and this my happy fate hath mounted high.
- I, knowing this, as conqueror have won my husband for my own.

I am the banner and the head, a mighty arbitress am I.

 I am victorious and my lord shall be submissive to my will.

My cour are dayers of the for, my daughter is a reling queen.

 I am victorious: over my lord, my song of triumph is supreme.

Oblation, that which Indea gave and thus grew glurious and most high,—

- This I have offered, O ye gods, and rid me of each rival wife destroyer of rival wife, sole spouse, victorious conqueror.
- 5. The others' givey have I seized as it were the wealth of weaker dames.
- fi. I have embdaed as comparer these rival wives these my fellow wives.

That I may hold imperial away over this here and the folk."

It should be noted here how the queen is made to speak of her some as being merely slayers of the for while her daughter is represented as a ruling queen. She is also made to speak of her husband as holding a subordinate position in the kingdom over which her power was supreme. It is true that his hymn can also be explained on the supposition of the existence of a hereditary monarchy running on the line of male issues and of princesses being wedded to a ruling king of a different state, and of plurality of wiver in the royal harem. Still it cannot be

denied that this hymn and its peculiar expressions can also find a ready explanation on the hypothesis of the institution of Brahma javas or queens, in the light of which her imperial sway over the folk and over her bushand can be taken as a fact meteod of a boast.

The other words which appear to have been misunderatood by our epic writers and which gave rise to a number of inconsistent and exaggerated statements and stories are Brahma and Praja. The word Brahma in the Vedas meant a priest as well as a god, while praja denoted one's own children or people at large. The Epic-writers took the word Brahma in the sense of a god and praja in the sense of children. Accordingly such Vedic expressions as ' Manu was Brahma's son 'aus' Prajas were Manavas ' seem to have been taken by them to mean that Mann was the Creator's own son, and that the people were Mann's children, while the real sense was that Manu was the Chief Priest's son and that the people store Manu's subjests when he was lived elected as a king. Likewise expressions such as Sagara had myty-thousand prains or people under him," seem to have meant for them that Sagara had sixty-thomsand sons.

The story of Krishnadraijavana begetting on the queens Amba and Ambalica, Dhrytamshtra and Pandu to rule over the Kuru kingdow can also find a satisfactory explanation in the light of the institution of queens.

I may therefore conclude that the priestly class of the Arvan invaders of India established an institution of queens and reserved to themselves the right of begetting on them a ruling king and warrior soldiers to protect and defend the kingdom, the king and the soldiers being compelled to observe a celebate life and having no ruling powers over the priestly class. Consequent on the desire of the Kahatriyas to set up a hereditary monarchy with

74 EVOLUTION OF INDIAN POLITY [Lec. HI.

right of marriage for the Kshatrivas also, a Civil War ensued between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas and ended in a triumph for the latter. It is also probable that as Divodasa, Purukirten, Trasadasyu and others are found mentioned in the Vedan as hereditary monarchs, there were some states which set up hereditary monarchy at the very start with no institution of queens, while in others that institution was amicably settled to terminate in hereditary, though in its pristing Vedie form it is still found to linger in the states of Travancore and Cochin. As there is reason to believe that the elected queens were of Aryan descent and the begetting priests also were true Aryans, it follows that many of our Kshatriya kings and especially those of Travaneore and Cocloir are kings with true Aryan blood running in their teins, while the same cannot be said of all the Brahmans owing to their nonnection in some cases with Sudra women by marriage, the offspring of this upion having been allowed to exercise the functions of Brahman, or

^{**} Latyapana Scausa, 13. 2, 61

LECTURE IV

THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

From time immemorial, the Arvans as a race seem to have exhibited an innate desire to settle their social. religious, or political questions in an assembly of their own. The Greeks had their Areopagus, the Romans their Caria : and the Anglo-Sarons their Witanagemot. Likewise the Arvans of India had their own Sabha or Samili. The other names given to a Sabha are Janata, and Parishad. The words Subba, Sameti and Janata are Vedic and Parishad is the word commonly used during the Sutraperiod Britaspati quoted in the Vyavaharakanda of Paramerumathava (pp. 18, 19) mentions four kinds of assemblies; one called the immorable assembly in a town or a village, a second termed movable assembly, perhaps of learned men moving from place to place, a third ** called chartered committee with a presiding superintendent and a fourth " styled ordered assembly with the king to provide over its deliberations. Bhrigu, quoted in the same work (p. 19), mentions some other minor assemblies of particular eastes. He says that wild tribes have their own assemblies, the merchants their own goold, the army its own assembly composed of soldiers, the villagers their own, the townspeople their own, and the Srenis or washermen and other eighteen kinds of low caste people have their own special assemblies. These classes, whether a Gana, composed of a number of families, or a congregation of hereties, or a corporation of Brahmans or an assemblage

[&]quot; Mudriadhyakshasanyakia p. 19.

Pajarukta cha Sastrita, p. 10.

of people of different castes and creeds, are termed Vargins and are said to have their own assemblies. Apart. from these minor assemblies, there seems to have been in each stage during the Sutra period a grand assembly consisting of families, elders, government officers and the king himself. (a)

It is probable that even during the Vedic period there were in addition to the grand assembly of the State minor assemblies formed by each class for settling its own social or religious questions. The grand assembly with the king as its president seems to have been the final authority on all questions. According to Narada quoted in Parasaramadbava Vyavahara (p. 52) the gradation of appellate authorities is as follows: -(1) families (kulani); (2) Srenis or washermen and other eighteen low-castes, (3) Gama, or congregation of families and (4) the anointed king himself. Even now only meh social, religious, or political questions as villagers find it difficult to satisfactorile artile in their own village assemblies are beaught before grimmal or civil courts for settlement. It is probable that even during the Vesly payed the same practice of settling their affairs either by themselves or by the king in his useembly was followed by the Arvana. It is improbable, if not improcticable, that each of the many villagers that constituted a kingdom of the Vertie period was compelled to go to the grand assembly in the capital town of the king for the rettlement of its questions. It is therefore likely that the numerous references "" to sabhas or assemblies found the Vedic literature are not merely to the single king's

" Kulasi Kulikaschuita nirakia arapatiahatha. Paramesmadhariya Venezhara, p. 19.

^{....} Hog. VI. 25, 6; VIII 6, 9; X. 56, 6, VI; 71, 10, A. V. 31, 6; VII 12, 21 VIII, 10, 5; XIX 55, 6. Tai. S. L. 4, 7. Tai. Sc. J. 1, 10, 6. Set Br. 11. 3, 2, 8, V. 3, 1, 10: Val. 8 111. 45 | XVI. 24 . XX. 17, etc.

assembly in the capital town, but to minor village assemblies also.

With regard to membership of assemblies, there seems to have been in restriction whatever. Whether old or young, educated or uneducated, all seem to have had free admittance into the assembly whenever it was convened. It it also probable that there was no question of quorum, but the presence of every villager was necessary to make the assembly fully authoritative. Even now it is an accepted eastom with villagers in Mysore to ascertain whether every villager is present in the meeting before authorizing the assembly to take up the question at issue into consideration. The educated and the aged are reapeeted by the smeducated and the young merely by granting to the former seats of bosour or by seating themselves at a respectable distance though on the same mat or carpet. Though the right of discussion and decision is as a matter of fact granted by a common consent to the educated and the aged, no man, whether ignorant or young, is denied the right of expressing his view, merely or account of his ignorance or youth. Even during the times of Charaka, the author of Charakasambita, the same procedure of convening meetings. with men of all grades and positions seems have been in vogue. This is what Charaka says about the various kinds of assemblies prevalent at his time :--

"Without doubt, the assembly may be of two kinds:

(1) an assembly of men endued with knowledge and wisdom, (2) an assembly of men that are ignorant. Though principally of two kinds, it may be of three kinds according to difference of causes much below:—

(1) an assembly that is friendly, (2) an assembly that is indifferent and (3) an assembly that is already committed.

to one side. 102 As the Krishmynjurveda (II. 2, 2) has prescribed some sacrificial spells for avoiding pervousness in an assembly and for the acquisition of the power of eloquence; it follows that assemblies were convened on a grand scale and that no one was denied the right of expressing his riews in the assembly. The priests, representing the educated, the nobility representing the agricultural and the trading class were all pursent there. As questions of election and bandshment of kings and of restoration of banished kings were discussed in the assembly, it is doubtful wnother kings attended it or not If it were a rule that the king should attend it, it would follow that he attembed it as its head to preside over its deliberations. But as questions of election and restoration of a king cropped up as subjects of discussion only when there was no king on the kingdom, some one else, a distinguished priest or a noble, might voluntaer binnalf as its provident for the time bring ; and when the question of the banishment of the tyraunical king was the subject of document in the assemble, the tyrant himself night stay away from it in the interests of his own personal safety or dignity. There is however no reliable reference found in the Yedas about the king's attendance in the assembly as its president. The Bigvedic references to the presence of a Raja in the midst of an assembly (IX, 92, 6, and X 97, 6) can be taken to mean either as the presence of a noble in the midst of an assembly or as the presence. of a king in festal assemblies or congregations, or battles, as interpreted by Sayana in (IX, 92, 6). On no account the two passages can be taken to mean that the king attended the assembly as its president. Moreover as there are Vedie passages enjoining certain charms and spells for

the acquisition of the power of eloquence so as to secure ananimity in the assembly, it appears that the right of addressing the assembly was vested in no one, but was given to any one who volunteered himself to undertake it. Similar is the custom in vegue in villages even now. The best speaker or pedagogue is even now allowed to address the people and earry the day as he might. The same form of pedagogy which is recommended by Charaka for vanquishing an opponent in disputation prevails even now in the assemblies of villages, and seems to have prevailed also during the Vedic period. This is what Charaka says —

"An opponent that is weak in the Scriptores should be vanquished with citations of lengths aphorisms. An opponent should be vanquished by the use of phrases-fraught with words, the sense of which is too difficult to understand. An opponent that is enable to understand the words he have obsold be vanquished by reciting lengthy aphorisms full of difficult words."

That such was the form of debate in the Vedic partial is confirmed by the various kinds of sternious prescribed in the Vedas for the attainment of debating power in assemblies.'** It is likely therefore that no king ever presided in the assembly of the people, but that only he consented to do or undo anything, as required by the unanimous desire of the assembly. That he was bound to not up to the unanimous decision of the assembly is confirmed by the following hymn of the Atharvaveda: (VI.88, 3).—

"Firm, never to be shaken, crush thy formen, under thy feet lay those who strive against thee. One-minded,

¹⁹² Vimanastinua, Clayters S, 17,

^{...} A. V. V. SL. O.

true to thee be all the regions; faithful to thee, the firm, be this assembly." (4.1)

Drinking of Sura, an infoxicating liquor, seems to have been a common creation with men going to Sabha or assembly. This is confirmed by the following passage of the Atharvayeds:—

"He, (the Viatya) went away to the people. Meeting, assembly, army and wine followed him. He who hath this knowledge becomes the dear home of meeting, assembly, army and wine."

(A. V. XV. 9.)

It follows therefore that eloquent talk and wild and violent disputation was a common feature of the debate in an assembly, perhaps often leading to broils. But there is evidence to believe that assembly hads were considered so sacred that while in the assembly, even a criminal was some of his personal safety. This is confirmed by the following pusuage of the Rigoids (L. 31, 6):—

"Agni, then expect in the assembly when pureled, even him, O farseeing one! who walks in ovil wave."

To win glory by exhibiting extraordinary power of eloquence in the assembly seems to have been the highest ambition of men even in those days. Among the various bleenings hoped for, the birth of a son fit for the assembly is one, as clearly expressed in the following grand benedictory passage of the Yajurreda (VII. 5, 18):—

"In this preisthood may a Brahman be born of spiritual glory; in this kingdom may a prince be born, an archer, a bero, and a great chariot-lighter; a milk cow, a draught ox, a swift racer (horse), a prelific woman, a victorious warrior, a youth fit for the assembly (sabbya). To

^{10.5} See Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 431 —concent between the king and his assembly was essential for his prospecity.

^{***} CY. Rig. VII, 86, 6; VIII. 2, 12; 21, 14; A. V. XIV. 1, 35-36.

this sacrificer may a here be born. May Parjanya rain for us whensoever we desire. May our plants ripen with fruits. May union and peace be ours."

One of the Rizvedie hymne conveys the same idea (I. 40, 5-6):—

"Now Brakmann-juti speaks forth about the salemn hymn of praise,

Wherein Indra, Various, Mitra, Aryamac, the gods have made their dwelling place.

May we in holy assemblies, O gods, recite that hymn, peerless, that brings felicity.

If you, O become graciously accept this word,

May it obtain all bliss from you."

In this connection the following Atharvavedic prayers for power of debate and of voice are also interesting:—

1. Let not the enemy win the cause 1 strong and prodominant art thou.

Refute my adversars's speech. Bender them dull and flat, O ! plant.

2. The strong winged bird discovered thee, the bird mearthed thee with his smoot.

Refute my adversary's speech. Bender them dull and flat, O ! plant,

Ye, Indra had thee on his arms to cast the Astrone to the ground.

Refute my adversary's speech. Render them dult and state O! plant.

5. With this, I overcome my face as Indra overcame the volves.

Refute my ...

Indra, defeat the speech of him who meets us with hostility.

Comfort as with power and might. Make me superior in debate." A. V. II, 27

" I. Mine be the glore in the hill, in vales, in cattle, and in gold.

Mine be the sweetness that is found in nectar and in flowing wine.

With your delicions honey balm me, Asvins, lords of splendid light!

That clear and resonant may be the voice I offer to mankind, assembly

3. In me he strength, in me he famo, in me the power of sacrifide.

Prajapati establish this in me as firm as light in heaven," A. V. VI, 69.

Decision on questions seems to have been arrived at by obtaining rate of the majority as prevalent later at the time of Chanakya,1 "1 and disputes about field by securing the manimous concent of the people assembled, any jarring note of dissent being lushed up by the persuasive power of aloqueum of the speaker or speakers.

This is proved by the following by min of the Atharvaveda :--

"I. Agree and be united bet yang minds be all of one neesed.

Even so the guils of aucient days, commissions, await their share.

2. The Rede is common common the assembly, common the law, so be their thoughts united.

I offer up your general oblation! together entertain one common parquee.

5. One and the name be gone resolve, he all your hearts in harmony.

One and the same be all your minds that all may happily consent." (A. V. VI. 64.)

"1. In come of may Prajapati's daughters, Subha and Samiti, both protect me.

Max every man I meet respect and aid me. Fair be my words, O' Fathers I at the mortings.

2. We know thy name, O conference : thy name is interchange of talk.

Let all the company who join the conference oper-

 Of the men sented here, I make the splendoor and the lare mine own.

Indra make me conspictions in all this gathered

4. Whether your thoughts are turned away or bound and fostered here or there.

We show them hitherward again; let your mind finally rest on me in (A.V. VII. 12.)

Since the word Subba is a name given by the gambling-hall where the favoreste, though rolliness, game of died was played at. It is probable that a sembline also not there whenever necessary. In villages having no gambling houses, meetings seem to have been held in temples, or places of flower-ship built for common use or in private houses with such common apartments. Subbya and Subbika are two unstern terms, of which the latter denotes a member of the gambling company. Subbapathi, locd of the assembly, seems to have denoted a mediator or president.

Though there is however no Veslie record as to the way in which business was done in the assembly, still some hint may be gathered about this point from what. Bribaspati and other Socriti writers have spoken of it at a later period. Regarding the ten essential constituents

⁴⁴ Arris, 111, 5; Vedic Index, Vol. 11, p. 426.

of an assembly Bribaspati is said to have laid down as follows :-

"(1) The king, (2) the appointed members of the assembly, (3) the Smritis, (4) the accountant, (5) the writer, (6) gold, (7) fire, (8) water, and (9 & 10) witnesses of the two parties. Of these, the king is to decide; the numbers of the assembly to examine; the sacritie to furnish the law, gold and fire for taking outles upon, water for the thirsty, the the accountant to count, the writer to take down the statements and the witnesses to confirm the case."1 ==

Of these, the king and the writer may be omitted, as no king seems to bave attended the assembly and no writing was known in those days. That the rest were all there, as constituents, is a mont that need not be doubted

While this statement of Bribascuti determines to some extent the procedure of business slace in the assembly, there is a good deal of anarctainty as to the nature of subjects that were discussed in the assembly still it is not, however, difficult to guess at the truth from internal and external evidences. Since special mention is made not merely of election and banishment of kings as pointed out. elsewhere, it follows that those questions were thoroughly discussed and decided in the peoples' assembly. Though Macdonell and Keith admit that there are clear references to kings being expelled from their realms, and their efforts to recover their reverginty, they hesitate to accept Zimmer's opinion that while the Vedie monarchy was sometimes hereditary, as is indeed shown by several cases where the descent can be traced, yet in others the monarchy was elective, though it is not clear whether the selec-

¹⁰⁴ Farancamadhura Vyavahara, p. 25.

tion by the people was between the members of the royal family only or extended to members of all the noble class.^{3 1,0}

I do not see any reason for this doubt on their part when according to the express text of the Krishna Yajurveda''' the elected king is declared to be the sovereign not of all the people, the clergy, the nobility and common folk, but merely of the two latter classes. The text rens as follows:—

"This is your king, O Bharatas, but Some is the king of us, Brahmans." (1 S, 10.)

Here the priests seem to be the king-unkers or Rajakrits, as they are called in two of the Atharvavedic by mus
(IV, 22, 3 & 5; VIII, 2, 6). Thus when the king-makers
elect a king after obtaining the manimous consent of the
nobility and the common people, as stated in the other
hymns of the Atharvavola quoted above (I. 9; III. 1;
IV, 22) and declare that the elected and accounted king is
not to be considered to be the king of the Brahmans also,
it follows that the constitution was partly objected and
partly monarchical and that the voice of the priests on the
election and rotention of a king was supreme in the
people's assembly.

The other questions that seem to have formed the subjects of discussion in the assembly are 11 war, 115 peace, 114 disputes about land, 112 recovery of debts, 116 cheeting at

[&]quot; Vedic Index Vol. I. p. 211.

Tajus, L. S. 10:

⁾⁾ A. V., VI. 77, 102.

⁽III A. V., VII. 62.

¹² Kristen Taper, U. 2. 1

^{47&}quot; A. V. VL 117.

Lie A. V., VI. 119 and 110

play, 112 inheritance, 112 taxation, 112 abduction of women, 112 protection of men and cattle, 121 cattle stealing, 122 distribution of war-speils, 112 currency or coins of money such as Krishnal, Nishka, and Satamana, 121 trads and tolls (sulka), 122 crimes such as theft, assault, and murder,

Apart from these questions which are all referred to directly or indirectly in the Vedas, many of the questions that obtained engineere in the civil and criminal courts of the Sutra period seem also to have engaged the attention of the peoples' assembly of the Vedic period. Among the several duties assigned in the Sutras to the kings' assembly for decision, the following seem appropriate for the Vedic period also 124 :--

- (i) Destruction of fruit trees.
- (5) Falsification of weights and measures.
- (5) Provision for the wires of soldiers slain in fattle.
- (1) Exemption of Beahmann and widows from taxation.
 - (5) Maintenance of the poor, cannels, and madmen.
 - (6) Punishment of false witnesser.

It should however be noted that unither the veracity of social, religious and political questions discussed in the assembly nor the way in which the decision was arrived at is of so much importance as the question of the constitution of the government, machinery itself. We know for certain

[&]quot; Kristims Yujus, If ft. I.

U. A. V. 111, 20.

[&]quot; A. V. V. II

^{14&}quot; A. V. VI. 107.

¹²⁷ Rig. T. 128.

¹² Kig. U. 111.

^{**} Sampara Br. XII, 7, 2, 13 : XIII, L. 1, 47, etc.

Tat Sa. III. 1, 2, 1,

[&]quot; Vaj. Sambits XXX, 5

^{: *} Vasishtha and Bothayans : Bibler's Translation.

that the two important elements that constituted the government of the Vedic period were the assembly and the king. Of these two, the assembly must have been more important than the king who evidently was at the mercy of the former. As pointed out already, it was the assembly that managed the affairs of the kingdom during the periods of interregnum due to death or banishment of kings. Even during the later periods of heredisary monarchy it is the assembly of ministers that invariably assisted the king in all matters concerning the State. While during the Vedic period the assembly evidently held a permanent place in the constitution; it occupied a subordinate place in the State period.



LECTURE V.

THE DUTIES AND PREROGATIVES OF THE KINGS AND PRIESTS.

It may be stated without the fear of contradiction that history of the world means the history of the play of intellect. It is the intelligent few that rule the world and are the cames of its progress or deterioration. It is they that shape the policy of governments and give it this or that same to please the vacity and whimsical notions of the times. So long as the intelligent few are altruistic in their acts towards the people that are in social intercourse with them, they are respected and admired. When they act either in their own self-interests or against the selfish or unselfish interests of the powerful or of a body of the people, they begin to be lated by the latter. When the intelligent few form themselves into a separate class or caste and begin to be hated for their apparent collichinterests, the feeling of barrel is in the long run converted into a permanent class or caste hatred, though the cause of that feeling may have long died away.

What at a later period appear as forms of selfah interests originate themselves at first as deserved privileges and rights granted and enjoyed in honour of the intellectual superiority, protective capacity or governing skill. The chief, the king, the medicine man, the religious priest with his assumed power of interpreting the signs of the beavens and his spells, incantations and sacrificial exploits are first admired and respected for their power in war, in governing, in coming diseases, and in expressing devils and averting calamities of hidden origin, and are granted gifts. The families of these men continue to enjoy those privileges

even on the death of the heroes and the priests with whom the rights originated. In the long run the rights become mere toys with no merit to render them deserved, no matter whether the claimants of the rights are individuals or a class of people.

This is what has happened with the prerogatives of Indian priestly class, which earned its privileges in honour of its superior intellect. The rights and privileges of the king, on the other hand, began to increase in proportion to the growth of his governing daties. The duties of the kings, whether hereditary or elected for life, were very few at first while those of the prests were many. While the king was expected to contine his attention to the protective and defensive measure of the kingdom, it was the priest with whom the power to help the kings by the performance of necessary sacrifices and spells was believed to rest. It: was his sacrifice that averted droughts by causing timely rains. It was his sacrifice that ensured victory to the king over his enemy. It was his sacrifice that brought in a plentiful harvest. It was his sacrifice and medical amulet that introduced concord between the king and the people. In short there was no public or private setivity that is not attended with a sacrificial performance. His memory was so strong that he remembered a number of suitable prayers which he alone knew to interpret. He alone knew to perform sacrifices so correctly as to ensure success. His failure to achieve expected excess was due to insufficiency of the sacrifices. Thus he was a god incarnate to the people of his times. Even so late as the time of Chanakya, the duty of a king it was to employ a chief priest well learned in the Vedas and experienced in the performance of various kinds of sacrifices.

The other kinds of service which the priestly class rendered to the king and his people in addition to the

religious and sacrificial services and which made the priviloges granted to it highly deserved in the eyes of the people are educational, spiritual, and ministerial. As repositories of knowledge, both semilar and sacred, the priests were justly looked upon as persons well qualified to impart knowledge of all kinds to those who were inclined to aquire them. Their abodes not merely in towns and villages but also in hermitages situated on the banks of rivers in forests seem to have been frequented by all sorts of people, inclusive of kings. Their hermitages and other settlemente seem to have been regarded so sacred as to insure safety of person and security of property. Even kings defeated, driven out and chased from the hattlefields seem to have found in the hermitages a safe shelter from their bloodthirsty enemies. This is confirmed by the story of Kings Sudaman and Suratha narrated in IV. 16, 17 and V. 32 of the Devibhagavata. The story of Sudarsana is as follows - Dhouyasanthi, son of Pushpa and King of the Kouslas had two sons, one called Sudarsans by his first wife Manomma and another named Satrujit by Lilavati. Dhruvasandhi died while hosting. A battle ensuel between Virasena, King of Kalinga, and Yudhajit, King of Ujjaini, each being interested in securing the throne of Dhruvasandhi to his own nephew, Sudarsana and Satrujit respectively. Then apprehending danger from Yudhant, Manoranms with her young son fled to the hermitage of Bharadvaja and lived there in peace till her son grew old and received his education in the Vedas, politics and military art from Bharadvais himself so as to recover his lost kingdom. So he did to the satisfaction of his mother.

Likewise, Suratha, an ancient king, driven out from his kingdom by his enemies, singht refuge in the hermitage of Sumodhas and with his assistance recovered his kingdom. The birth and growth of Sagara in the hermitage of Aurva on the death of his father Bahn defeated and driven out from his kingdom by the Haibayas and the Tala-janghas is another instance of the indispensable protective care and shelter which kings in oxile sought and received from the priestly class. 127

It seems to have been a unique spectacle to see the priently hermits "seated on deer-skins spread under the shadow of Sala trees and engaged in teaching their students the Vedas, Sustras and other useful arts, as required by the latter."128 They seem to have been given to a life of much self-denial and penance and sacrifices. Whether they lived as householders in villages and towns, or as humits and ascetics in forests, their life seems to have been as simple as their learning high. Though, as hermits and accetics in hermitages, they seem to have lived sometimes on the fleth of wild animals, or on wild rice gleaned and collected by themselves from helds or on fruits and roots gathered from the forests, and other times on the bounty of kings and wealthy mon,1 "* the humelniblers in villages and towns seem to have engaged themseives in various kinds of occupations, agreeulture, cattle rearing, medicine, corngrinding and even gambling, the

This highly learned, though pious, priestly eligarchy or aristocracy, independent of the king and exempt from the ordinary exercise of the royal power, is not a peculiar feature of the Indian Arysos alone. It appears to have been a common characteristic of the Aryan race as a whole, whatever might be the country it had occupied, Greece, Rome or India. The aucient Greeke and Romans are

¹²⁷ Vickenspursus, IV. 3.

[&]quot; Deel Hingarain, V. 32, 26-27.

[&]quot;" Brudharma, HI I and 3.

[&]quot; Rig. IX. 117.

said to have had a similar kind of priestly oligarchy among them. In his City State of the Greeks and Romans (pp. 115-119, Ed. 1907) Fowler says as follows:—

"In the age of kingship, as we saw, the functions of government were religious, judicial and military. These functions have now passed out of the hands of the king and belong to the magistrate and councils of the artistoeracy. Let us see how they might be used so as to favour the interests of the few as against those of the many. The secrets of the religion consisted of a knowledge of the ritual proper to meh measion; the knowledge, that is, of the art of keeping the human inhabitants of the city on good terms with its divine members. Every public act was accompanied by a sacrifice, and all sacrifices must be performed in exactly the right way. The sacrificial hymna must be rightly sung; the omens must be taken, the parificatory processions conducted exactly in the received. manner, or the gods would not answer and bless. The whole life and happiness of the State depended on the proper performance of these necessary duties. Now is a State made up, as we have seen, by the union of lesser communities, each of which had its own peculiar worship conducted by its own noble family or families, it is plain that all these worships, now embodied in the State, must have remained in the hands of the aristocracy. The whole organisation of the State's religious life was theirs also. The regulation of festivals, of marriage, of funerals, of hely places and land belonging to the gods,-all that the Romans understood by the words jus surven, -was theirs and theirs only. For a person to meddle with such things, who was not qualified by birth or education or tradition nor expressly invited by the State as a reformer, was not only to interfere with the rights of a class, but positively to disturb the good relations of the City with its gods, and thus imperil its very life. Of these relations, and of this life the noble families were in a way trustees; what wonder then, if their trusteeship increased their pride and narrowed their sympathies, raising in them a growing contempt for men who know nothing of the will or the needs of the divine inhabitants of the City?

"So it was also in the religion of profunc law, as it slowly disentaughed itself from the law of religious usage. Here, too, the vale beld good that all solemn acts must be performed according to prescribed order, if they were to have any binding force. Rules governing the tenure of land, rules governing the transference of all property by succession or sale, rules governing the treatment of evil-doers and the adjustment of all disputes, so far us they were administered by aristocracy only, they were as much matter of technical and traditional knowledge as the religious law and could not be administered save by those to whom a divine order had entended that knowledge. The executive of the State, in fact, was in the hands of the only true Statemen (Politai). What wonder, then, once more, if these men and their families believed themselves to be the only lawful processors of secret of Government, as well as religion, which they might turn to their own particular advantage :

Byen in military matters—the third department of Government—the same tendency is seen; for the aristocracy took the greater risk in actual warfare, and were at greater expense than the commons in providing themselves with horses and superior arms. They, like the chivalry of the Middle Ages, were the former of the State's Army; they had a greater stake in the State and they like their mediaval counterparts, came to look down on the people as beings who could not or would not right, unworthy alike of honour on the battlefield and of power in the constitution?

Thus we may be sure that in course of time there came to be a greater distinctness of outline of the position of the class to whom all the secrets and advantages belonged. While the State was not yet fully realised, while its elements were still in solution, this distinctness was less strong. But when the various elements of population came to face each other in the well-knit State, the idea of privilege began to make itself felt. The holders of the secrets which we have been describing, an soon as they began to use them for their advantage as a class, would couse to be considered as privileged." (The City State of the Greeks and the Romans, pp. 115-119, Ed. 1907.)

The same fact is briefly expressed by Mr. A.H.J. Grundige in his "Handbook of Greek Constitutional History" (p. 21, Ed. 1911).

"We may now form some idea of the power of this published of birth. In speed many its members had won their territory by the right of conquest, and were the large land-owners in the States. Their special plains to honour were the exclusive knowledge of its laws, and the sele possession of that extraemship which resulted from higher birth and from inherited wealth and culture. This was the rule of the best aristoi; and for a time these governments have been the truest aristocracies that the Greek would ever see. It was not merely the position, it was still more the qualities which made these men at open priest, judges, and soldiers that seemed unattainable by the common herd. Their ruler had a divine sanction : but the theoratic element was not oppressively present; it was less obvious than at Rome, for the clan worship, exclusive as it was, was less haneful than the inscrutable knowledge of the prestly colleges of the Roman Patriciate, which created a strong tie of interest between all the families of

the privileged class, and professed to give rules for all things human and divine."

Having thus surveyed the physical and intellectual superiority which enabled the kings and the priestly class to put forward claims for special privileges and prerogatives fitting their positions, we may now turn our attention to the consideration of the peculiar nature of the privileges themselves:—

As a defender of the kingdom, the king seems to have been allowed the right of 'eating the rich "1" by levying taxes and tributes from them: " and of distributing treasures collected from taxation and plunder amongst his people, especially the priestly class in his own discretion. He had the right of passing judgments in givil and criminal cases, perhaps as decided in the people's assembly. 123 His was the right of bestowing lianseome gifts on priests in merifices and in festivities. He seems to have been allowed the right of selecting his own priest from the family of the myal priest and of appointing the seven Rathins or officers, such as the Commander of the army (Senapati), the elegioteer (Sain), the village-headman (Gramani), the chamberlain (kyhattar), the Collector of taxes (Sangrahitar), the distributor or divider of feed (Bhagadugha) and the dice-player (akshvupa). 134

He seems to have had his own private lands and cattle, as Sugrieve and other ancient kings had their Madhuvana or pleasure gardens. According to Ramayana, honey and fruits in the Madhuvana of Sugrieva became the spoils of the exulting mankey though an their return from Lanks in the joy of having found out Sits in the Asoka

⁽³⁾ Right 166. 4.

¹²⁴ A. V. XIX. 2, 6, and Rig. 174, ft.

[.] A. V. XIX 24. 3.

¹²⁴ Tai Sambita L & 9.

garden of Ravana. Even the queens and princes are said to have possessed their own lands and wealth in the Arthasastra (II. 7). Whether the Vedie kings had their private lands or not, depends on the view we take of their origin. If they were elected from among the common people or from among the Kehatriya class evolved out of the people themselves, it would follow that the elected kings continued in the rejevment of the landed property which they must have had before election. If they were elected from the very beginning from among the descendants of the institution of the queens, it would follow that they had no private property of their own, the queens being allowed to have all the property as their own as in Travancore and Cochin.

As the resources of entering into a war or an agreement of peace lay with the kings, the question of war or peace seems to have rested with them alone. It cannot however be denied that he had to execut his own priests and officers and the people's assembly as well. Even in the matter of anomating their own eldest cone in the kingdom when they themselves grew old, ancient kinge appear to have ascertained the view or inclination of their people's assembly. Descratha's attempt to gause the opinion of his people and the assembly on the question of installing Rams on his throne is an instance on the point. Duryedhama's maltreatment of the Pandayse and their wife Dranpodi against the vardet of his assembly seems to be an exception.

The king was called Vispati, lord of the people, as contrasted with the Brahmans. As Vispati, he had no royal power over the priests.

The levy of benevolences and special taxes and tolls, as stated in the Arthasastra, was a royal privilege of later period.

The king was a man among men: neither does he seem to have made, nor the people to have acquiesced in, his claim for divine hirth or right, which, as will be seen later on, is a political expedient devised by politicians of the post-Kautilya period.

In addition to their prerogative of being independent of the king, the prest seems to have claimed and secured immunities in important judicial matters, as set forth in the following passages of the Yajurvola:—

"If a Brahman and a non-Brahman have a litigation, one (the king) should support the Brahman; if one supports the Brahman, one supports curred!) if one opposes the Brahman, one opposes mostle therefore one should not oppose a Brahman (Tai. Sambita, 11, 5, 12).

"Him who revides a Brahman, by (the king) shall fine with a bundeed; him who strikes a Brahman, he shall fine with a thornaud, he who draws blood from him shall not behold the world of the Pieris." (Tai. Sambita, H. 6, 11).

The fines levied from the infender were paid not to the king, but to the Healman, as a kind of Worgeld. The last sentence seems to mean that no funeral rites about the performed in the name of a slayer of a Brahman on his death.

In still clearer terms are enquerated the tenounities of the pricets in the Sutra literature. The Apastamba Sutra, for example, says as follows:—

"In his realm no Brahman should suffer hunger, sickness, cold, or heat, be it through want or intentionally." (Apa. II. 10, 25, 11.)

"The king who, without detriment to his servants, gives land and money to Brahmans according to their descrits gains malless workle.

"They say that a king who is slain in attempting to recover the property of Brahmans performs a sacrifica where his body takes the place of the sacrificial post and at which an unlimited fee is given.

"A learned Brahman is free from taxes." (Apr. II, 10, 20, 1, 2, 10.)

Thus it is clear that the Vedic political constitution consisted of (i) a priestly aristocracy independent of the king and exempt from purcolment for offences and from taxes and tolls on land and other property, and with adknowledged chioss to protection from hunger, sickness, cold, or heat; (2) a king, elected at first and bereditary later; and (3) a state-assembly consisting of priests nobles and the common people with powers to elect and banish kings, to restore hanished kings, and to have an authoritative voice on all political and judicial matters of the state. The most troublesome element of the constitution was the priestly aristocracy with which the kings were, as already pointed out, at war for the sake of the mysterious cow, and perhaps on account of their exemptions privileges also.

¹⁰ Vishan Parsest 1, 13. Vens were the Brahmans. How this discuss under with he need below on.

LECTURE VI.

THE EFFECT OF JAINISM AND BUDDHISM ON THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF INDIA

At no time in the history of India had its priestly aristormey a more desperate struggle for existence than during the Sotra period. Apart from splits in itself due to difference of opinion on matters of minute details in sacrifices, its dispute with the kings regarding the question of its privileges does not soon to have come to an end, though it had to set axide the question of cows on the defeat of Paragrama, its charageon, and his light to the West Coast corner of Southern India. The question of allowing the priests to runtione in the enjoyment of their exhorbitant privileges seems to have been still under dispute. King Yena, for example, is said to have caused it to be everywhere proclaimed that no worship should be performed, no oblations offered and no gifts bestowed upon the Brahmans.¹²⁴

What was worse still, there arese two successive separatist movements, one after another, with the set purpose of reforming and purifying the social and religious order of the Indian Areas community as a whole. They were the movements founded by ruling princes after mature deliberation. The earlier of these two movements is known as Jainism, called after the name of Rishabha or Jina, the first founder and usacher of that religion. Of the 24 Tirthunkaras or teachers beginning with Rishabha

and ending with Vardhamana Mahayira, all of whom seem to have belonged to the Kshatriya class or to ruling princes, the last three, Nemi or Arishtanemi, Parsvanatha and Mahavira, seem to have been the most powerful preachers. Arishtanemi is stated to have been a prince and cousin of Krishna of the Vadava race. The story, as narrated in the commentary of the Uttarhibyayana Sites 127 says that when he was told that the herd of animals which he met in his procession preparatory to his marriage with Bajimati was being led to be slaughtered for the purpose of a banquet to be given in honour of his marriage and coronation in the Yadaya Kingdom, he relinquished his marriage and the kingdom in disgnot and took to forest life following the orders of the old Tlethankaras, and leaving the kingdom to his commin Krahua. Parevamatha who succeeded Arishtenemi, 173 B. C., as a Tirthankara was a prince like his predensour and was moneyded by Mahfavira, a king like himself.

The object with which these Tirthunkaras embraced areaticism was not merely to smancipate themselves from the mending chain of birth and death, but to save the Aryan people from the social, religious and political bondage from which they believed them to be suffering. While they kept themselves under a stern religious discipline with a firm mind to compare the six enumies, desire, anger, niggardiness, delusion, intemperance, and jealousy, and to attain emancipation by meditation and contemplation on the self or soul, they seem to have been preaching to the people at large to give up the social and religious customs of the Brahmans and to practise as far as possible the observance of the four gifts,—the gift of food, gift of

¹⁰ Jaina Series, published by Ean Habidar Baja Dhanapahaimha, Vol. XLI, pp. 655-650.

protection of animal life, gift of medicine, and gift of true knowledge (Aharlahavabhaishajya sastradana (38), as stated in the inscriptions of Hoisala Ballaladeva. While the first three gifts determine the guiding principle of the various notivities which man may take upon himself as a social and industrial being, the last mealeutes the processity of his learning and teaching true knowledge, as taught in the philosophy of the Jainas. This philosophy is based partly opon the Upanishads and partly upon the atheistic philosophy of Kapila. The philosophy as expounded by Kapila, teaches us that there are only two principal entities, man and nature, man suffering or enjoying according to the attitude of his mind order his control, and Nature having a productive power manifesting or presenting to man the externally indestructible matter in its various forms. Attachment to Nature brings pain to man, while nonattachment or neutrality by merging self in self brings on emancipation to hon. Againstingly Sankhya philosophy knows neither Gol nor Dharma, charity or virtue in any form. The Jama philosophy, though equally atheistic, is an improvement on the Sankhya by the addition of Dharma 150 as a mean for the attainment of emaneigation (4.0) Hence knowing wither God nor an authoritative revealed text, Jainism has rejected the Vodas of the Brahmans with all its animal sacrifices, as inconvictent with the promise of abstaining from injury and excelly to animal life 144 Apart from the four gifts and from rendering service to saints, teachers, asceries, the infirm, the ganas, kulas, Sanghas, the good, and the enlightened, as inculeated in the

At* Inscription in Hamasantari temple at Udri in Sorah, Shimogo District, Mysere.

[&]quot; Ctraradhyayam entm. p. 577, verse 30.

[&]quot; Tatvarchaentra, l. 1, 2, 2 & X. 1.

¹¹ Gift No. 2 quoted above.

Tatvárthasutra (IX. 21), there is no other Dharma which a Jaina has to know. The Jainas he not seem tired of discussing the question of Dharma and Adharma from various points of view. A religious practice, a social rustom or a political duty or function is according to the Jainas a Dharma or victures practice only when it is not antagonistic with the four gifts enumerated above. Accordingly the Volas are no revealed texts, as they teach succitives inconsistent with Abhayadhna or promise of protection. Nor are they eternal, as believed by the Brahmans, since no human otherance or writing can possibly be eternal.

Neither during the Vehic period nor during the Jaina and the Buddhist periods till the first few centuries of the Christian sea was there such a rigid caste system as prevailed later. The people were divided into place with rights of commission and communality with each other. When the Jainas had forward an order of their own, they had observed the same class system without any detriment to their faith and practice. " Along with such antenote customs as flesh-enting, phirality of wives married from other classes inclusive of the Suless, interdining with Sulras and the like, the Brahmans seem to have been imposing an suspected persons some restrictions to the right of coanubium and commencality and to the right of social interesurse with the Chandalas Restriction to the right of connubium and commensality is thus referred to in the Tailtiriya Sambita (VI. 2, 6).

"On a place of sacrifice which is distinctly marked should be cause him to sacrifice regarding the person, of whom they have doubts as to admitting him to common meals or to marriage."

Name Satra, pp. 20-30.

¹²⁴ Pitamiliyayana setsa, p. 156.

The Jaims seem to have condemned these and other exclusive and indiscreet or intemperate customs as inconsistent with Dharma or Virtue. As to the question of untouchability of the outcastes, the Jaims have condemned it outright as a mere profession inequable of being translated into practice, inasmuch as the wind is found to carry minute particles of strong-smelling flowers and fruits in the hands of the artesates right through the nose into the very stamuch of the Beabman.

Amitagati, a Jaina-writer, who, as stated by himself in the introduction to his work. Observapordesha, lived in 1014 A.D. cooks a Gaudharva, an imaginary character, talk of the widow marriage and other customs of the Brahmans in a condemnatory tone, as follows:—

"When I saw my widowed mether being wedded to another, I burnated my relationship with her and asked the pions man, "pear tell me whether there is no sin to her being married to another."

"When it is mid-that Dampeli buil the five some of Panch as her husbands, where is not for thy mother, if the bas two husbands. The husband being dead by misfortune, the maiden, though once bereathed, deserves the right of marriage consecution for a second time. The woman that has brought forth a child has to wast eight years, while a maides should wait only four years before marrying another, if the busband has gone abroad. If second busbands are married for reasons mentioned in the five enumerated cases, there is no guilt for women, as stated by Vyasa and others."

By way of condemning the customs of the Brahmans and of pointing out the nature of a true Brahman, a true Kalastriya, a true Vaisva, and a true Sudra, Javaghosha, a

Nameli States, pp. 74:46, Columbia Ed.

Jaina ascetic, is stated to have instructed a Brahman named Vijayagliosha in the following passages of the Uttaradhyayana Sutra (XXV. 24, 33):—

"He who does not injure living beings in any of the three ways (thoughts, words, and actimes), him we call a Brahmana. He who does not speak notruth from anger or for fun, from great or from four, him we call a Brahmana.

By one's actions one becomes a Brahmana, or a Kabatriya or a Vaisya or a Sudra."

In the dialogue between Nami and Index who advised how to relain regulty instead of renouncing it, the duties of a king according to the referenced notions of the Jamas are thus hinted! **

In reply to Indra's solvine to Nami to erect a wall, gates, and buttlements, to dig a roost and to construct Sataghms, he answers that faith is his fortress, penaser and self-content the bolt of its gate, patience its strong wall, seal his bow, and carefulness in walking its string.

In reply to his advice to punish thieves, rubbers and burglars, Nami answers that men Irequently apply punishment wrongly, by putting the unoccut in prison and by setting the true criminal at liberty.

In reply to Indra's advice to him to conquer his foce, to perform sacrifices and to feed Brahmans, Nami answers that though a man should conquer themsands of valiant foces, greater will be his victory if he conquers nobedy but himself; that one should fight with one's own self and conquer the five causes and suger, profe, delusion and greed; and that self-control is better than sacrifices and gifts to Brahmans.

Still stronger was the demanciation buried by the Buddhists on the Brahmans. In the Terigga Suita, a dialogue between a Brahman named Vasettha and Gotama on the character of the Brahmans, the defects of the Brahmans, are thus pointed out.

Gotama asks Vasettha :-

"Now what think you, Vacettia, are the Brishmans vecsed in the Vedas in the possession of wives and wealth, or are they not ?"

Vascettha replied :-

- "They are, Gotama."
 - " Have they anger in their hearts, or have they not ?"
- "They have, Gotama."
- "Do they hear malies, or do they not ?"
- "They do, Gotama."
- " Are they jerre in heart, or are they not?"
- " They are not, Gotama."
- " Have they self-mastery, or have they not?"
- "They have nut, Gotama"
- "Very good Vasettha. That these thulmous versel in the Vedas and yet hearing anger and malice in their hearts, sunfal, and mecontrolled, should after sheath, when the body is dissolved, become united to Brahma, who is free from anger and malice, sinkes and has self-mastery—such a condition of things has no existence."

The secred and secular learning of the Brahmans and their capacity to perform various sacrifices to secure good, or to avert lead results either to the king or to the people are thus denomiced in the Tevigga Sutta (II. 3):—

"Or whereas some Samana Brahmane, who live on the food provided by the faithful, continue to gain a livelihood by such low arts and such lying practices as these,

¹¹ Cuaradiyayan, L. 88.

that is to say, by foretelling future events, as these:
'There will be a sortic by the king.' 'There will not be a sortic by the king.' 'The king within the city will attack.' 'The king outside the city will retreat.' 'The king within the city will gain victory.' 'The king outside the city will be defeated.' 'The king outside the city will be the conquerer.' Thus prophesying to this one victory, to that one defeat."

"This is the kind of goodness that he has."

"Likewise by predicting that there will be abundant rainfall, abundant harvest, famine, disturbances, sickness or health; or by drawing deeds, making up accounts, giving pills, making versus, or arguing points of country, or by giving advice touching the taking is marriage, or the giving in marriage, the forming of alliances, or dissolution of connections; by traching spells to progue prosperity, or to come adversity to others; or by worshipping the out, or by worshipping flexions, by spotting fire out of their number,—this, too, is the kind of goodness that he has,"

1.1.1

While nimber this severe criticism directed by the Jaimas and the Buildinets against the second, religious and political views of the Brahman oligarchy, the firm hold which it had on the peoples' mind was fast loosening, the constructive organisation made by the separatists to reform the Aryan Society in all its aspects appeared to render that old oligarchy quite powerless to survive. Though atheistic, it was a humanitarian religion based upon justice, charity, and brotherhood. As every man was obliged to free himself at all costs from the six inimical passions, desire, surger, gread, debusion, hist and jealousy, he had no cause whatever to apprehend injustice

from his fellow beings. Men and women were required to regard each other as brothers and sisters and to be kind not only to their fellow beings, but also to beasts. The duty of kings and rich householders was according to the new guspel to construct alms-houses, to creek hospitals both for men and beasts, to plant avenue trees, to open roads and to the wells of mater at intervals here and there. It was the duty of the Sangha, the Buddhist order of munks, to reeach to the people at large and prevail upon them to free themselves from all passions and to tread on the new path of Dharma, justice and charity, declaring ablass or promise of protection from fear to all. It was a league of men with ancere and eyen heart, but not of nations with lip errogathy and conning beart. the protection of this kingdom of virtue or natural law (Dhammachakka) there was no room for criminals, robhere, or onemies. Kings might dishard their buge nemy and spend their revenue in relieving the misery of the needy and the inferm. There would be no talk of way, for who would dare to raise his nearons against a frague of men devoted to the service of Natural justice and dharma? It may be presumed without any fear of contradiction that among the several Aryan and non-Aryan kingsloms from the Himalayes down to the Cape Comorio, there was no kingdom that was deaf to the preachings of the James and the Boddhists. Jama and Buddhist monasteries began to rise in numbers in all the kingdoms throughout the length and breadth of India, as confirmed by a number of Jains and Ruddhist inscriptions already discovered and still under discovery. Benares, North West Provinces, Rajaputana, Central India, Gujerat, the Pandya and Chola kingdom, and My-ore, all teemed with Jaims and Buddhist settlements and monasteries.

To allay all fear of exaggeration at rest and to confirm the assertions I have ventured to make here, some of the edicts of Asoka, the first Indian Resperor, are quoted below :-

" Here in the Capital no animal may be elsughtered for sacrifice, nor may holiday feasts be held, for His Majesty King Privadarsia sees manifold evil in holiday fountu."

Ediet I.

"Everywhere in dominions of His Majesty King Privadarsin, and likewise in the neighbouring realms such as those of the Chola, Pandya, Sativapotra and Keralaputra, in Ceylon, in the dominions of the Greek King Anticehas, and in these of the other kings subordinate to that Antipelius -everywhere, an hebalf of His Majesty have two kinds of remedies been disseminated, remedies for men and remedies for beasts on the roads trees have been planted and wells have been dug for the use of man and heast,"

Edict II.

"Obedience to father and mother is good, liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brahmans, and ascotice is good; avoidance of extravagance and violence of language is good. The clergy will thus instruct the lieges in detail."

Edict III.

"Now, by reason of the practice of prety, instead of the war-drum, the sound of the drum of piety is heard." Ediet IV.

"Even for a person to whom lavish liberality is impossible, the virtues of mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude and fidelity are always meritorions."

Edict XXI.

Of all the Edicts of Asoka, the most important is the thirteenth Edict entitled the 'True Conquest.' It is the edict in which the Emperor has proclaimed to the world at large his full belief in the efficiency of the Buddhist law of picty as a real force in making a true conquest of man, not by sempons but by appealing to his moral sense and conscience and by pointing out the ruin which he may bring upon himself and others by addictions to passions. It runs as follows:—

"His Majesty King Priyadazsin in the ninth year of his reign conquered the Kalingas." One bundred and fifty thousand persons were theree surried away captive, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times that number perished.

"Ever since the annountion 443 of the Kalingae, His Majesty has analously protected the Law of Picty, has been devoted to that law, and has proclaimed its precepts.

"His Majesty feels removed on account of the conquest of the Kalingas, because, during the subjugation of a previously encoupered emutry, slaughter, death, and taking away captive, of the people necessarily occur, whereat His Majesty feels profound sorrow and regret.

"There is, however, another reason for His Majesty feeling still some regret, insumuch as in such a country dwell Brahmans and ascetics, men of different sects, and householders who all practice obedience to elders, abedience

The Kalingan Kalingani; the country extending along the curat of flay of Bengal from the Mahamad piver on the north to be beyond the Krishon river on the south; often called "the Three Kalingae," which are supposed to be the thoughout of Amaravati. In this selict the name is used in both the amgular and the plural. The Dhanii and housain took inscriptions are situated in this conquered province.

^{(**} Compared, vijita ; "annexed, laffsester,

to father and mother obedience to trachers, proper treatment of friends, acquaintances, contrades, relatives, slaves and servants, with fidelity of devotion 1.1. To such people dwelling in that country happen violence, claughter, and separation from those whom they lave.

"Even those persons who are themselves protected retain the affections undiminished —rain falls on their friends, arquaintances, commiles, and relatives, and in this way violence is done to those who are personally unhard." All this diffused misery." is matter of regret to His Majesty. For there is no country where such communities are not found including others besides Beahmans and ascetics, nor is there any place in any country where the people are not attached to some one sect or other."

"The less of even the breadwelth or the thousandth part of the persons who were then skin, extried away captive, or done to death in Kalonga would now be a matter of deepregret to His Majorty.

"Although a man should do birn an injury, His Majesty holds that it must be patiently borne, so far as it can possibly be borne.

"Even upon the forest tribes in his dominions His Majesty has compassion, and he seeks their conversion, inasmuch as the might even of His Majesty is based on repentance. They are warned to this effect— Shun

[&]quot; That is to may, who practice the diarrow, or Low of Picty, of which a summary is given.

[&]quot;I'll That is to way, they are been in their feetings.

^{15 *} Diffused minery, equivalent to Bibliops "all this falls securally to man," M. Senart desire the dispribative sense of pratithagen, and translates (i. 368) "traces les resissers de ce press."

^{72.} This sentence is translated from the fuller form in the Kalsitext, as corrected by M. Senuer from the newly discovered Glyner fragment, J. R. A. S. for 1900, p. 200.

evildoing, that ye may escape destruction'; because His Majesty desires for all unimate beings security, control over the passions, peace of mind, and joyousness. 11

"And this is the chiefest conquest, in His Majesty's opinion—the conquest of the Law of Piety; this also is that effected by His Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues." Even to where the Greek King named Antiochus dwells, and beyond that Antiochus to where dwell the four Kings severally named Ptolemy, Antigones, Magus, and Alexander: "And in the south, the Kings of the Cholas, and Pandyas, and of Ceylon." and likewise here, in the King's dominions, among the Youas, and Kambojas, in Nabbaka of the Nubhitis, aroung the Bhujas and Pitinikas, among the Andbres and Pulindai, "A everywhere men follow the Law of Piety as proclaimed by His Majesty.

⁽Kalai) The translation of the days southern of the paragraph is in appointment with the Security's compensations.

Longue "ynjama a varying minants, commonly taken or equal to seven or eight miles.

Astinches These, of Syrus, Francey Philadelpton, of Egypt.: Antigonic Genelus, of Macedonius Abstraches, of Epiron, Magan, of Cyrons.

[&]quot;The Chule capital was at Exager max Tradingpole; the Pandya capital was at Mudara. Trakes (Theo) was the contemporary Ring of Cophus.

The Young (Yavanue) none to class of foreign race (not necessarily (Irosh) on the north-separate frontier, included in the Empire: the Kandarjas seem to have been about partitivesteen tribs.

I cannot offer my expansion of Neisbaka of the Architis (Bibber).

The Architas inhabited the country uses the Krishna river, at the southern extronous of the Kalingaa. Subsequently, they established a powerful kingdom. The Polishus same to have exampled the central parts of the Ponissula. The Polishus may have been the inhabitants of Paithana on the Golden (See N. Scratt in Ind. Ant. XX, 318, and

"Even in those regions where the envirys of His Majesty. do not penetrate, 107 men now practise and will continue to practise the Law of Piety as soon as they hear the pions proclamation of His Majesty issued in accordance with the Law of Piety.

"And the compast which has thereby been everywhere effected, causes a feeling of delight.

"Delight is found in the conquests made by the Law. 100 Nevertheless, that delight a only a small matter. His Majesty thinks nothing of much importance save what concerns the pest world.

" And for this purpose has this pions edict been written, to wit, that my some and grandwors, as many as they may be, may not suppose it to be there to effect a new compact; and that even when angaged in conquest by arms they may find pleasure in patience and pentheness, and may regard as the only true conquest that which is effected through the Law of Piety, 15.1 which avails both for this world and the next. Let all their pleasure be the pleasure in exertion, which avails both for this world and the next."

Thus the kingdom of Highteonouses which began with Buddha with its eightfold noble path of right views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right contemplation, took a firm stand in the land during the righteous imperial rule of Asoka, muzding for years to come the

J.R.A.S. for 1900, p. 340). The names communated are those of border tribes under the superainty of Assist-

[&]quot; Hasicoaries were disputation in the viewcoalle of twenth year of the reign

¹⁴¹ Bubbe's conducing accidentally such the words Lattia (block) pails dheares vijnyaspil.

¹⁰⁾ I think I have given the meaning correctly, and in accordance with the latention of Bolder.

Brahman oligarchy, its Vedic Gods and animal sacrilices. It must be admitted to the credit of India and her law-abiding sons that this stupendous change in her social, religious, and political institutions was so quietly and peacefully effected with no trace of bloodshed that even to the irritated Brahman eligarchy it appeared as an illusory phenomena brought about by the magic wand of a skilful wigard. "This son of Suddhodans," save the Agnipurant (Chapter 16, 8), " was the greatest deluder. He debuted the Daityas and led them away from the Vedic Dharma." Compared with persecutions and martyrdoms which attended the operad of Christianity and its various stages of its reform and the reign of terror which preceded and followed political reforms brought about under the influence of Christianity in Europe 14.7 the quiet and peaceful rise and fall of Jainism and Buddhism in India purely in virtue of its infrincic vitality and decrepitude appears to be a remantic tale, the like of which the world has never seen. Whether this is due to the peculiar soil and climate of India or to the inexplicable temperament of her people is a question which history has yet to solve. (*)

^{14:} Early Church History by J. V. Bortl

^{12.} The travels of the Ukiness Pilgrim Tone Chwang, Tole I and II.

LECTURE VII.

THE EMPIRE-BUILDING POLICY OF THE POLITI-CIANS OF THE KAUTILYA PERIOD.

In the kingdom of righteensness [Phanemachakka] firmly set up by the Buddhists in India there was no distinction between man and man, king or priest, monk or householder, trader or tiller of the mil; all were on the same level. In common with others, each had his clearly defined duty before him, the duty of conquering the six inimical passions and of preparing himself for his final Nirvana or emanescation from the bondage of transmigration. Except his own exection, he had no need to seek other means, of which there was none at all. He needed mother a god nor a priest to help him in his attempt to relieve himself. He was his own god or Satan according as he walked on the rightseur or unrighteous juth . If he were born a king, all that he had to do was to direct his officers to superintend the works of Dhamma and insist on every one's duty of observing the Law of Piety, toleration, and charity. None bad need to perform mystic sacrifices for securing mystic aims. As all had to fread on the same path of Dhamma, there could be no enemies and consequently no war, necessitating the employment of a buge army. If he were a rich trader, he might continue his peofession and accumulate wealth not for his own selfish purposes and ultimate destruction, but for the meritorious purpose of charity to the needy. If he were a priest, he could very well understand his own duty to himself or better than others, inasmuch as he had a cultured mind to aid him in his attempt to reach the final goal.

He had no need for any texts or prayer, revealed or unrevealed, either for his own use or for the use of others. The only qualification which man needed was the knowledge of correct view, correct conduct, correct thought, correct mode of obtaining a livelihood, correct speech, correct meditation, and correct tranquillity 1%. If one succeeded in attaining that knowledge, it would be for one's own good. One had no need to impose upon others and claim privileges therefor.

In this kingdom of Righteoneness, there was room neither for a crafty high prest nor for an honest high priest, neither for the sacred Velas per for the animal sacrifices enjoined by the Yedas. The Brahman oligarchy which had so much to do in the old social, religious, and political order of the Aryana land to same down from its old high pedestal and relinquishing its claims to exclusive privileges, merge itself among the people with no distinction whatever. At the most he could be a monk, if he could houst of a cultured mind. His Vedas and sacrifices forget he most. It a more than probable that owing to the conversion to Jainism and Baddhism of a number of earned Brahmans that knew the traditional interpretation of the Vedas and of Vedic sacrifices, the true Vedic learning was lost and that more Vedic recitation remained with the illiterate minurity or majority that still obsticately adhered to its old faith. Perhaps it was a majority of Brahmans that stood aloof looking with mortification at the wonderful spread of Jameso and Buddham at the expense of Brahminism in the land, since it is from those irreconcilables that modern Brahmans have sprung up and revived their old Vodic lore.

¹⁷¹ Buddhist Sultus : Foundation of the kingdom of Rightsonaness, pp. 149-147.

Now that Jainism and Boddhism were spreading in the land like wild fire with no such devastation as wild fire commonly does and with no malice, batred or injury to any one, what could the helpless Brahman do! None needed him as before, yet none injured him apparently, He had no real grievance against any, but his own destiny. The kings and the people whom he had under his clutches left him to his destiny now. Haprless and desperate as was the task which the Brahman had to undertake in order to regain his lost supremacy in the land, he seems to have entertained no doubts as to the means which he had to employ to succeed in this attempt. I prier similar circumstances the Western Brahman or trained politicians would have surely appealed to arms, as he had more often than once done in all his rev. Intionacy propaganda, whether meial, religious or political. Time is precious with the Western. He would not wait and spend time in thinking of any peaceful means for success in his attempt. Brute force has a charm for him and he employs it for good or bad. But the Eastern Brahman differs from him in this. He is not for arms where he believes that skill can grown him with success. Though the Eastern has shown his dogged determination in fighting as obstinately as the Western in the battlefield, still it is certainly a mistake to suppose that he prefers the sword to all other means as much as the Western does. Even Professor Wilson, the translator of the Vishno Porana and other Sanskvit works could not shake homself off from this characteristic bias or notion. While remarking on an ambiguous passage of the Vishmipurana about the conflict of the Brahmans and the Buddhists he spens to think that the Brahmans took to arms and extirpated the Jainas and the Buddhists whereas the truth is that the Brahmans overcame the Buddhists rather by employing peaceful means than sword,

The passage of the Vishnupuram together with his remark runs as follows :--

"The delusions of the false teacher pamed not with the conversion of the Daityas to the Jama and Buddha heresies; but with various erroneous tenets he prevailed upon others to apostolize, until the whole were led astray, and deserted the doctrines and observances incolcated by the three Vedas. Some then spake evil of the sacred books some blasphenned the gods; some freated sacrifices and other devotional ceremonies with secre ; and others calumniated the Brahmans. 'The precepts,' they eried, ' that lead to the injury of animal life (in sacrifices) are highly reprehensible. To say, that making butter into flame is productive of reward, is more childwhness. If Indra, after having obtained godland by multiplied rites is fed upon the wood used as fuel in boly fire he is lower than a brute which feeds at least upon leaves. If an animal claughtered to religious worship is thereby, raised to howen, would it not be expedient for a man who institutes a sacrifice to kill his own father for a victim ! If that which is naten by one, at a Scaldha, gives satisfaction to another, it must be nonecessary for one who resides at a distance to bring food for presentation to person. First, then let it be determined what may be rationally believed by mankind; and then, said their interpreceptor, 'you will find that felicity may be expected from my instructions. The words of authority, mighty Asoras, do not fall from heaven | the text that has reason is, alone, to be acknowledged by me and by such as you are.' By such and similar lessons the Daityas were perverted, so that not one of them admitted the anthorsty of the Vedas. When the Daityas had thus declined from the path of the holy writings, the deities took courage and gathered together for battle. Hostilities, accordingly, were renewed; but

the demons were none defeated and slain by the gods, who had adhered to the righteons path. The armout of religion which had formerly protected the Daityas had been discarded by them: and upon its own abandonment followed their destruction—

(Vishnupurana, Book III, Chap. VIII.)

Commenting on the last few sentences of this passage.

Professor Wilson remarks in the footnote as follows:

"We may have, in this conflict of orthodox divinities and heretical Daityas, some currect allusion to political troubles growing out of religious differences, and the final predominance of Brahmanism. Such occurrences seem to have preceded the invasion of India by the Muhammadana and prepared the way for their victories."

The translator seems to think that though the war between the Buddhists and the Brahmans brought victory to the latter, if rendered India too weak to repel the dimetrops attack by the Mubanmadaus. But I am inclined to believe that the success of the Brahmans was to a greater extent due to the employment of peaceful means than to open warfare, though there was, as will be seen later on, some war not however, between the Buddhist monks and the Brahman priests, but between Buddhist aings and aboriginal tribes iccited by the Brahmans. The means employed by the Brahmans seem to have been therefold a social change, religious reformation, and political reorganisation, as needed by the times.

To free themselves from the Jaina and Buildhistic invectives upon their social customs, they had to give up some of their social customs such as plurality of wives, widow marriage, and Niyoga or the custom of deputing a stranger to beget a son on the wife of some one else. Though approved of by Gautama Bodhayana, and other Sutra writers, these customs seem to have disappeared

under the strong condemnation of the later Smriti writers by the first few centuries of the Christian era. Though plurality of suives had knit the Brahman and other three classes together and tended for the unification of all classes, still the Brahman- had here obliged to give it up and to isolate themselves into a caste by adopting endogumy. Likewise they had to give up thesh cating and by becoming vegetarians they discontinued interdining with non-vegetarians.

In the religious field they gave up most of their animal sacrifices, or performed very few of them on nore occasions. They now burned their attention to the study of the Upanishade and improved their philosophy to as to include all that the Jainas and the Haddhoots had taught as their own. The one excellent and attractive feature which the Brahmanic philosophy and and which both Jameso and to some extent Barbibism entirely lacked was theism. The Jainas consider world to be sternal, i.e. having seither a larginning nor a creator, but destined to and. They admit, however, the existence of a Brahma or Jovara, not as a creator, but morely as an ideal Being to be miditated open. Nor is he considered as a Sariour. The Buddhists, on the other hand, are agnosties and orither admit nor dray the existence of a creator or savious of the world. To refute this doctrine by pointing out its bullowness, the Beahmans had to take in the aid of their logic, as taught in the Nyaya and Vaiseshika schools just then founded for the very purpose. Side by side with these philosophie schools, there was Budarayana cogaged in the stopendons task of interpreting the various Upanishads so as to mean a single central idea of Brahma, the transcendental Being and its various aspects. Jamini had a similar mighty task of expounding Vede excepties, and Patanjali, the science of meditation or Rajavoga. Panini, Varamehi and Patanjali

had addressed themselves to the huge task of preparing an excellent Sanskrit Grammar, the like of which the world has never seen. It was for the purpose of having a pure learned language with no scope for such ungrammatical forms as "Korbhavan? Sappohaen," "Who are you? I am a serpent," The error in this expression is that the letter "r" which has to come before "pa" in Sarpa was inserted, between "n" and "b" in Korbhavan." In order to earry on their polemics against the Jainas and the Buddhists, the Brahmans a em to have required a refined language in contract with the suigar Pali language in which the separatists carried on their propagands.

Likewise there are at the same period a number of Smriti writers or codifiers of custome, such as Bhrigu, Yagnyavalkya, Paramera, Narada, and others who all codesvoured to the best of their shillify to take stock of all ancient customs and record them, commonling or condemning practices according as they appeared suitable or unnottable to the spirit of their times, in the light of the reformed notions of the Jama and Suddhot moralists.

Sparred on with the idea of representing Brahmanism in the most brilliant colours, there were also others who turned their attention to works on medicine and other useful arts. They were Agnivesa. Charaka, Sosruta, Vatsyayana, Sudraka, and Kalidas, to mention only a few among them.

Theism or Atheism or Agnosticism I was the question at issue between the Brahmans on the one hand and the Jainas and the Buddhists on the other. The syllogism which the Brahman logicians employed to defeat their opponents in dispute was, as set forth in their works on logic, of the following form:—

The world is the work of an intelligent designer; whatever is the work of an intelligent designer, like a piece of cloth or a pot has an agent to design. Therefore the world has an agent as its designer. That designer is termed. Brahma or Issaes or God or Creator. It appears that as accomplished disputants, the Jairas and the Buddhists were as good as the Brahmans. Finding it hard to vanquish their opponents in dispute, the Brahmans seem to have consoled themselves by giving expression to the lame though significant threat, as set forth in the proverbal saying that if there be no Creator, there would be no harm to the theist; but if there be one, the atheist would be doomed.

Having thus vimilicated themselves on the questions affecting their social and religious views, the Brahmans seem to have girled their losse to take advantage of the changed political conditions of the times. In addition to the three old famous political schools of Manu, Sukra, and Bribapati, no fewer than a dozen new political schools, such as that of Parasara, Buersdvaja, Kamajudante, Vatavyadhi, Visalaksha, Pissma, Passas-potra, Bahudantiputra, Kantilya, Katyayana, Konjelka, Ghotamukha and Charayana seem to have borned themselves in propounding political theories, some in favour of Kehatriya monarchy, Bharadyaja in favour of Brahman monarchy, 165 Kautilya *** boking both mosarchical and republican forms of government equally good, all however being disposed to shape their views in the interests of Brahmanism. 97 these thinkers seem to have been manimous in advocating skilful intrigue as a means preferable to war to achieve an end. Kautilya says :- "The arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a single man : but skilful intrigue devised by wise men can kill even those who are in the womb."169

^{11&}quot; Arthomore, V. &

¹⁰⁰ But, L. IT.

ATT BOOK & A.

⁾⁺⁺ Arthu. X. S. & also rempare XIII. 4, str.

Accordingly the means advocated by Kautilya to successfully earry out an intrigue is conciliation, bribery, and sowing the seeds of dissension. 142 Only when these means fail, war is advocated as the last means to achieve an end. In advocating the battle of intrigue as a better means than open warfare neither Kantilya oor his contemporary politicians seem to have troubled themselves with the moral aspect of the question. According to them the end that is sought for is all in all. As to the means, it may be fair or foul, moral or immoral. The business of a politician is to learn the art of intrigue and seek the favour of a king who is endowed with amiable qualities and possessed of all the elements of sovereign power, such as regal qualities, a good minister, a fertile territory, strong forts, sound finance, a powerful army and a trustworthy ally. 17 He has then to turn his attention to the preparation of a plan to conquer the king's enemies and make him an emperor. A king may be a friend or an enemy seconding to the territory he occupies with reference to that of the conqueror. Whoever is situated immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is his enemy. One next to the enemy is his friend. Then comes the enemy's friend and then the conqueror's friend's friend and the enemy's friend's friend. Likewise in the rear of the conqueror there may be two enemies and two friends. Along with these there may be a neutral king and a mediator. Kautilya seems to have had in his mind the twelve godincal signs of the incon's or the sun's scliptic in constituting a complete circle with the territories of the 12 kings, the conqueror, his five enemies, four friends, and two neutrals. That it is probably the ardineal divisions that have suggested the idea

^{***} fbst, 13. 17.

are Arthu, V. 4.

of the circle of twelve kings, is hinted in verse 81 of the second canto of the Sisupala Vadha. The verse translated into English runs as follows:

"Just as the day-making Sun among the 12 curs is endowed with a prosperous career, so the conqueror who conceals no desire to conquer is endowed with a prosperous career among the 12 kings."

Politicians seem to have differed in their views regarding the question of determining the probable constituents of a circle of states that are likely to be at war with each other. The unit of a circle of states likely to be at war with each other according to Maya is said to consist of four kings, a conqueror, his enemy, his friend, and a neutral. ** According to Paloma and Indra, the name is said to consist of two more kings, a rear-enemy and a mediator in addition to the face mentioned above ** In defining a unit of a circle of states as that which consists of three, four, six or twelve kings, the chief aim sooms morely to point out the minimum or maximum number of kings to be subdued by the conqueror. That such is the aim, is confirmed by Kautilya's own statement in the Arthusustra. In XIII. 4, he says as follows:—

"Having seized the territory of his enemy close to his country, the conqueror should direct his attention to that of the Madhyama king; this being taken, he should catch hold of that of the neutral king. (1) This is the first way to conquer the world. In the absence of the Madhyama and neutral kings, he should, in virtue of his own excellent qualities, win the heart of his enemy's subjects and then direct his attention to other remote enemies. (2) This is the second way. In the absence

¹¹¹ Kumantaka, VIII. 2

¹⁷⁴ Bid, VIII. 21.

of a circle of states, he should conquer his friend or his enemy by bemming each between his own force and that of his enemy or that of his friend. (3) This is the third way. Or he may put down an almost invincible immediate enemy. Having doubled his power by this victory, be may attack a second enemy; having trebled his power by this victory, he may attack a third. (4) This is the fourth way to conquer the world."

Thus in the view of Kautilya, friends or fees are merely relative terms depending on their positions either remote or immediate to the territory of the conqueror. So long as a king happens to be of help to the conqueror and with no territory adjacent to that of the comparor, he is regarded as a friend. The moment he happens to own his territory close to that of the computeror, he becomes an enemy to be compared when the conqueror considers that his resources of men and money are enough to undertake the task. Asserting to Kantilya might, expediency, and selfaggrandisement are the chief objects for consideration and religion, morality and agreements of peace are of secondary or no consideration." "Whoever," says Kautilya, " is rising in power may break the agreement of peace." ! "

The means employed to achieve the end in view is thus stated by Kautilya himself:

"Intrigue, spies, winning over the enemy's people, siege, and assault are the live means to capture a fort,"174

How Kautilya succeeded in installing Chandragupta Maurya on the throne of the Nandas by employing the means mentioned above and paved the way for the mighty empire of Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, is a

^{17.} Apla, VII. 17.

¹⁷⁴ Photo.

Artin, XGF. 4.

historical fact known to all. It is intrigue carried on by skilful employment of spice trained in all sorts of professions that has enabled the politicians of the Kautilya period to succeed in their mighty task of building an empire favourable for the cause of Brahmanism. It is Buddhism itself that is answerable for their success and for its own downfall and ruin. Under the highly moral religion of the Jaims and the Buddhists, their kings became religiously and murally strong and politically too weak to withstand the attack of drunken fanatics and tumbled one after another like a pack of cards.



LECTURE VIII.

ESPIONAGE.

According to Kautilya and other politicians of his period espionage is one of the five means to build an empire by seizing villages after villages, cities after cities and forts after forts.17 ! Though the credit of organizing an efficient system of especiage as a state machinery to earry out their imperial pulsey belongs to the politicians of the Kautilya period and especially to Kautilya, there is evidence to prove that it existed in some form or other even earlier than the times of Kautilya. "Spies are the eves of kings" is a proverbial saying current among the people from time immemorial. Even during the Vedic period spice seem to have been largely employed not merely to ascertain validity or invalidity in the statements of parties and witnesses in criminal and civil cases tried by the king or the state assembly, but also to gather correct and reliable information as to the movements of tribal settlements of inimical tendency or disposition. The following passages from the Rigveda not only confirm this view but also indicate the class of people from whom spies were recruited and why -

"Varuna, wearing golden mail, bath clad himself in a chining robe; His spice are seated round." I. 25, 13.

"Send thy spies forward, fleetest in thy motion; be never deceived, the guardian of this people. From him who, near or far, is bent on evil, and let no trouble sent from thee overcome us."

IV. 4, 3.

"From the sride earth, O Varens, and Mitra, from the great lofty heaven, ye, bounteons givers,

Have set in fields amid the plants your spice who visit every spot and watch nuceasing." VII. 61, 8.

"Varuna's spice, sent forth apon their errand sur-

Wise are they, hely, skilled in exceptions, the furtherence of proinc some of the product." VII. 81, 3.

"They stand not still, they never close their eyelids, those sentinels of gods who wander round us.

"Not me,—go quickly, wanton, with another, and hasten like a chariot-wheel to meet him." (Rig. X. 10, 8; A. V. XVIII, I, 9).

The epithets (1) wise, (2) holy, (3) skilled in sacrifices, (4) and furtherers of praise songs are evidently applicable only to the priests. The reason why spice were premited from among the Brahmans is not also far to week. The epithet, holy, sarred in person so as not to he hart either by friend as for, supplies the reason. If spice had not been recruited in the first instance from a class of persons who, in virtue of their learning and capacity to perform sacrifices correctly as as to secure good and avert evil, were sincernly regarded as sacred in person and granted the six immunities referred to in Lecture IV above, it is probable that the system of espionage itself. would have hardly lasted long and served its purpose. It cannot be desied that human society is highly indebted to the priestly class of its own make for its existence and its progress. Though spies were recruited from all classes of people and messengers and envoys only from among

the priestly class during the times of Kautilya III (Buddhist Jatakas, VI, 528), the above Vedic passage goes to show that during the Vedic period Brahmans alone served as spies, and that their person was regarded as inviolate. The duty of these sacred spies was not merely to visit every spot, and find out him who was bent on ovil and keep guard over fields and plants (Rig. VII, 61, 3), but also to catch hold of criminals who might commit social or religious wrongs. Hence under the apprehension of these spies Yama rejects the lave of his sister Yami and asks her to find out another husband for herself. (Rig. X. 10, 1-16.)

While in vistos of they personal inviolability, the Brahmans in their capacity as spice served not merely to police the Aryan settlements but also to act as envoys and messengers in the ettlement of international or intertribal affairs, during the Vedic period, recruitment of spics at later times seems to have been made from other classes also and especially from those who were poor and destitute and thus, depended on the government for their subsistence) 7 * when the expansion of states from petty settlements into large kingdoms required an organised system of espionage, on a large scale. No political department seems to have given so much trouble to assignt statesmen as the organisation of the institution of spies so as to be serviceable to the state. It was a department that was expected to serve the state to various capacities. While its primary or principal duty was evidently to supply the king and his minister or ministers with reliable information touching the conduct of public servants in carrying out the work entrusted to them and of the people at large in their dealings with the government or with each other

^{***} Acta, 7, 19

¹² Arthu, L 12

among themselves, it was also required to train its spies in various exqueities; spies to act as cultivators, traders, asceties, astrologies, a iranis, foretellers, dancers, players actors, cooks, sweetherst-makers, poisoners, medical men, cowherds, milkmen, milkmenide, pediars, shop-keepers, ventners, sellers of cookel flesh and cooked rice, artisans, handieraftsmen, goldsmiths, silversmitte, mendicant men or women, sorcerers, prostitutes, washermen, weavers and men of as many profession as were found in any civilized society of those times.

Spies were classed into five groups.

- (t) Idlers or spies with no definite occupation or profeeding except that of closely and pryingly watching the movements of men and women and of ascertaining the motive of their actions.
- (1) Foretellers acquainted with palmistry, astrology and other sorts of learning of the same kind and engaged in detecting crimes.
 - (3) Spice with the profession of agriculture.
 - (4) Spice with trade as their profession.
- (5) Ascetics with shaved head and braided bair, pretending to be engaged in practising austerities.

In addition to these tive classes or Samethas as they were called by Kautilya there were also three more groups, such as, (1) Satrins or apprentices, (2) Tikshnas or fire-brands, murderers with deadly weapons in their hands and (3) Rasadas, poisoners. These three groups were called wandering spies in virtue of their constant touring through different countries. To assist spies of all these seven groups and also to carry out the work of espionage independently by themselves there were also women spies, such as mendicant women, cooks, norses and prostitutes. 172

¹²⁰ Arthumetra L 11; 1

Of these eight classes, the first five were under the management of five offices or institutions independent of each other and with large landed estates or manufactories worked by themselves for their maintenance without entailing no revenue-expenditure on the state. In other words, they seem to have been self-supporting institutions combining in one the duties of four of our modern departments, the Pulice, the Intelligence, the Educational, and the Poorhouse.

The other three classes called wandering spice seem to have been under the supervision of the government itself, i.e., the king and his ministers, and having no communication with or knowledge of, the work carried on by the five institutes. When the information gathered from these three different sources, i.e., the five imitiates, the wandering spies, and women spies was of the same kind, it was considered reliable and steps were taken to set up accordingly. If the information supplied by one or two sources did not tally with that gathered from the other two or more sources, the spire concerned were doesned and severely punished, dismissed or hanged, so as to secure the safety of the king and his kingdom. So delicate and dangerous was the work of the system of espionage that under its poisonous breath and sting neither private citizens nor public servants could be sure of the safety of their person and property. Hence in onler to avoid this risk to life and property, great eaution seems to have been taken in giving credence to these tales and no credence seems to have been given to them onless those tales issuing from three different sources not in touch with each other were exactly of the same type.

In addition to these spice and superior to them in rank and duty, there were also covers, messengers and Ubbaya Vetamas or Recipients of salaries from two states, who acted partly as spies and partly as ambassadors doing the duty of extradition of criminals and traitors and of observing the treaties of pears and war in the courts of foreign kings. Recipients of salaries from two states were however required to leave their wives and children as hostages in pledge of their trustworthy character under the custody of kings by whom they were missioned to reside in the court of their allies. Accustomed as we are with the press, post, telegraph, telephone and other organs supplying both the government and the public with reliable information to set opos, with no risk worth mentioning, it may seem strange that ancient states had succeeded in accomplishing their works with tolerable safety on the strongth of the information of untrustworthy spice or news writers, as they were called by Megasthenes and Greek writers. The times needed such an instituttion and there was no other means to get at the truth. Indiquentable as was this kind of intelligence department to the state for all its information, there is oridence to believe that kings had no moson to regret for the trust they placed in their informants. It is stated that Arrion 1811 was assured that the reports sent in were always true, and that no Indian could be accosed of lying. Though historians of India are inclined to doubt the strict accuracy of the statements of Greek writers in this connection ! " the importance attached to the institute of espionage in the Arthusastra and the daily andience given by the king to the spies as one of his daily duties goes to show that it was a trustworthy department and was probably more reliable than some of our newspapers with their party and racial prejudice. Thus though its trustworthiness

¹⁸⁰ Vincent Smith's Bistory of India, 2nd Edition, pp. 127 & 135,

¹⁴¹ Vigrent Smith's History of India, 2nd Edition, p. 128.

as a news agency cannot be doubted, the moral aspect of its work done in friendly or inimical states, as specified in Books XI, XII, XIII, XIV, of the Arthusastra, may however be questioned and condemned as open to the objection of moralists. The employment of fiery spies to murder in cold blood a seditions minister or his relation and to arrest the survivors on the charge of murder impated to them, 14.7 or to exact money from the people under the pretext of undertaking remolial measures against ominous occurrences, or to concert false charges against disloyal persons so us to expose them to capital punishments, 199 or to administer posson in foodstuffs, water, milk, wine and other acticles of diet and beverage so as to bring about death of an enemy's subjects by bundreds and thousands ! * or to set fire to so comy's palace or capital town so as to bring about his death, or to slaughter an enemy's army by many explosives and panamous amokes, as stated in Book XIV of the Arthusastra, are undoubtedly unrighteens acts that are severely conferenced by Bana. the author of Kadambari, in the following words :-

"Is there anything that it righteous for those for whom the science of Kautilya, merciless in its attempts, and precepts, rich in cruelty, is an authority; whose teacher are priests liabitually land-hearted with the practice of witcheraft; to whom ministers, always inclined to deceive others, are councillors; whose desire is always inclined for the goddess of waith that has been east away by thousands of kings; who are devoted to the application of destructive sciences; and to whom brothers, affectionate with natural cerdial love, are fit victims to be mardered?"

(Kadambari, p. 109, Bombay Education Society Press.)

[&]quot; Arthu, V. L.

^{***} Init, V. 2.

^{***} Bid. VIL 47

Though intrigue, espionage, posson, fire, cold-bleoded murder and other measures of the same kind proposed and employed by Knotilya with the set purpose of building an empire, i.e., the empire of the Maneyas beginning with Chandragupta on the ruins of the ancient Nandes tend to make him a croed tyrant or tyrannical minister bereft of moral principles, of right and wrong and of justice and injustice, still there is reason to believe that concerning the administration of a territory, inherited, recovered, or conquered, he was a benevolent despot always devoted to the cause of right-coursess and justice. This is what he himself has stated regarding the administration of kingdoms in general. (Artha., XIII, 5) .—

"He should initiate the observance of all those customs, which though rightcoms and practiced by others, are not observed in his own country, and give so room for the practice of whatever is unrighteous, though observed by others."

Evidently Kantilya belongs to that school of politicians whose policy is to justify the means by the noble and sought to be achieved. Even now there are a number of persons who consider it within the province of justice to rob Peter and pay Paul, provided Paul is admitted a god or an angel, and who, with the object of making a religious or charitable endowment, do not hesitate to confiscate justly or unjustly the property of a person of infamous or unrighteents character or to key blackmail from loweraste wealthy persons for some religious cause.

Evidently Kautilya seems to have belonged to this school of thinkers who, though few in numbers now, appear to have formed a majority in those far-off days inspite of the providence of paritanic forms of moral thoughts based upon the humanitarian principles of Jainism and Buddhism.

Strongthened with this thought Kautilya seems to have

considered himself justified in planning, developing and successfully employing the five means to carry out his policy of building an empire with Vedic religion and Vedic sacrifices restored to their former glory.

Slender as might seem the mouns relied upon by Kautilya to carry out his ambitious project of building an empire on religious basis, there were also other means which, besides giving considerable strength to his huge army of spies, rendered the country quite ripe for his political experiment. Though morally strong under the influence of the humanitariso religion of the Jaimes and the Buddhists, the Military organisation of the kingdoms seems to have been too weak to withstand an organised attack by enemies. As almitted100 by Asoka, the ope-Aryan states were naturally addicted to evil-doing and were waiting for an opportunity to posmer upon the helpless Buddhist kingdom either for plunder or revenge. There is reason to believe that like Asoka who is stated 150 to have deprived sixty thousand Brahmans of their daily royal bounty and entertained in their place an equal number of Buddhist monks, there were Jains and Buddhot kings before him. who had treated the Brahmans with no less disrespect than Asoka himself. It can be more easily imagined than described how the despised and neglected firshmans were more eagerly waiting for an opportunity to avenge themselves upon the Boddbists than the wild tribes and non-Aryan states in their habitual thirst for plunder and territory. The Brahman politicians of the Buddhist period seem to have drawn upon these enemies of Buddhism for their huge army of spies and soldiers to constitute the five means to build an empire. Absorbed in their

^{**} Ediet 2111

^{***} Vincent Smith's Apple, p. 162.

constant meditation to conquer the inimical passions, the Buddhist kings seem to have lost sight of these external enemies that were planning for their downfull.

The other two means which formed part of Kautilya's empire-building policy are the reinstatement of conquered kings in the whole or part of their own territory on fendal tenure and the sale of waste lands for colonization to such rich persons as were found unfitted by their character and temper to establish themselves as rulers over their settlements. In the view of Kautdya these were only makeshifts, made use of in the interest of an imperial sovereign state rather than the interest of the feudatory chief or the colonizer, both of whom were expected to come to grief in their attempts to fabil the terms of the agreement entered upon by them with the susterain power. This is what Kautilya save regarding a faudatory Chief (XIII. 5):—

"Whoever of the enemy's family is capable to wreat the compared territory and is taking elector in a wild tract on the border, often harassing the comqueror, should be provided with a sterile portion of territory with a fourth part of a fertile tract on the condition of supplying to the conqueror a fixed amount of money and fixed number of troops, in raising which he may incur the displeasure of the people and may be destroyed by them."

Similarly the colonizer was also expected to perish in his attempts, contributing to the prosperity of his suzerain lord. In reply to his teacher's objection that an indiscreet colonizer may sometimes betray the weak points of the suzerain lord himself, Kantilya says that "just as he betrays the weak points, so also does be facilitate his own destruction by the suzerain lord."

^{***} Arthu, VII. 11.

The peculiar feature of Kantilva's empire-building policy is evidently the utilization of all possible resources to expand and aggrandies the imperial power and the employment of correct means to get rid of all possible enemies, either internal or external without exposing the emperor and his ministers to any form of public calumny.



LECTURE IX

THEOCRATIC DESPOTISM

It had been made clear from the foregoing lectures how India had passed from tribal democracy to elective monarchy with priestly domination in some cases and to government by class or to oligarchy in others; and how elective monarchy gave place to hereditary monarchy with or without priestly supremacy; and how order the influence of the homanitarian doctrines of Jainism and Buddhism, hereditary monarchy freed itself from its thraidom to Brahman hieracracy and took rest for some time or for some centuries in the paradise of the Ganar or Greates of the Jaines or of the Sanghus or brotherhood of the finddhist Dhammachakka or Empire of righteourness with their numberies. Vasatis or Bactis and Vibaras or Manasteries.

Now under the peaceful revolution brought about by Kantilya and other politicians of his times, it does not appear that the question of a form of government suitable to India and her people, especially her Vedic priests or Brahmans was left to its own evolutionary solution without interference or meddling under religious has. It is probable that if she had been left to herself or if the turn which she had taken in her political movement under the influence of Buddhism had been preserved undisturbed, she would have certainly arrived under a limited monarchy subject to popular will or under an oligarchy or government by Kulas or claus like that of the Sakyas, Vrijikas, Mallakas, Mudrakas, Kukuras, Kurus, Panchalas and others. (*** But her politicians

¹⁹⁴ Arthon I, 17; XI. 1. Riga David's Buddhist India, pp. 2, 19; Jankson I 504, IV 145; V 413. V) 238, 575-7.

did meddle with it, as their predecessors did on a number of occasions before with a set purpose or motive. Now the motive was to put down Jainism and Buddhism and to restore Brahmanism to its former glory, though somewhat dwindled.

While the Buildhists were quite carriest in their desire to perpetuate the principles of justice, charity, and brotherhood and were inclined to prefer the old republican or rather oligarchical form of government after their ideal Dhammachakka, Empire of Righteousness in which all had equal treatment, rights and privileges, the politicians of the Kautilya period were for a government in which the Vedic priestly oligarchy had special privileges granted to it so as to excite no clannish prejudice or hatted as before. They knew very well that in the face of Buddhist opposition, the Brahmans could not revive their claim to the ald six immunities now but to them. If they had to be given at all any preponderancy in the body politic, it should then evidently be in some modified form. They could not be entirely exampted from punishment for offences as before.

As a mark of respect to their learning, piety and penance, a scale of punishments besel upon class or casts distinctions seems to have been devised making the punishment inflicted on the Brahman class decidedly less than that metad out to others.

Instead of exempting the Brahman class and tolls on the lands and merchandise passessed by them, a new custom of granting to particular individuals Brahmadevika lands free from tax and with particitions to the right of sale and mortgage seems to have been invented during the same period.

Artes, Ill. 18, 19.

ber Arthur, Il. L.

allowed to enjoy free grants of lands made to temples and Mutts, to 1 after the manner of Jaina and Buddhist kines who seem to have given rich endowments to their Bustis and Vibaras or Buddhist monasteries Instead of clothing and feeding the Brahmans as a whole in all places at the expense of public revenue in satisfaction of their old claim to exemption from cold, hear, thirst, and hunger, special feeling homes after the Buddhist alms-bouses seem to have been established in a number of sacred places by way of manifesting devotion to gods and faith in religion and charity. Thus though even bermits too, had been compelled to pay taxes and ouffer punishment for offences like others 1 3 f the indirect way of helping Brahmans as a whole by richly endowing their temples, Mutts, and other religious institutions in the name of religion appears to be the invention of the politicians of the Kantilya period. Following the Jains and the Buddhist monks who superintended the feeding of the poor in their richly endowed almoshouses and monatories, the Brahman hormits and ascetica began to possess rich landed estates attached to their temples and Mutte and to feed Brahmans on all days, a custom quite upposed to the express text of the Upanishade.100 Though they are forbidden to receive presents and own lands, they seem to have begun to argue following the precedent of the James and the Buddhists that it was no sin to superintend. the land of gods and to feed the poor with the sole sim of pleasing the gods worshipped by them in the interests of the king and his kingdom.

Thus having found out an easy way of helping the Brahmans and of reviving their Vedic religion, the

or Soba, list.

^{10&}quot; Arthu. 3, 13.

¹²² Sugary asopanishad, Chap. I.

politicisms of the Kantilya period seem to have entertained no doubts as to the particular form of government that would answer their purpose of belging the cause of the Brahmans. Neither democracy with power vested in the hands of even the low-saste persons, nor oligarchy under the sway of apostates and atheists would be of any help to Brahmanism. The wayward hereditary monarchies of the Kehatriyas hated the Brahmaus, renounced the Vedas and embraced Jainism or Buddhism at their pleasure. Hence the Kshatriyas who were found wanting in their attachment to Brahmsmam had to be replaced by others in the monarchical system of government. Though Kantilya had opposed the opinion of Bhamdyaja 1+4 that given an opportunity. Brahman ministers might de well to replace the Kalintriya role by Brahman rule, and preferred to preserve the old order founded on popular will, he seems to have given it up and preferred wild chiefs of Sudra origin live Chaudragupta. Different as are the accounts given in the Puranas and other liberary works regarding the descent of Chandingupta, they all agree in making him a Subra. Kautilya is made to call him a Vrisbala in the Mudrarakebasa. According to the Vishon and other Pursos the Kahatriya race came to an end with Mahapadma, the last Kehatriya king and after him the 'kings of the earth' were of Sudra origin.191 But there is evidence to prove that though in the terrible conflict that costed between the Benhmans and the Kshatriyas, the roling race had dwindled to a great extent, there still existed a few Kalminya kings such as Poshyamitra Samudragupta, Kumaragupta and others who were al regarded to be of the Kahatriya descent, entitled to

ser Arthe, V. S.

vo. Vishua, IV. 24.

perform the horse sacrifice. 134 Still it cannot however be denied that smarting with the pain of ill-treatment by the hostile kings of the Kahatrica case, the Heahmans sought the help of the wild chiefe of Sudra descent against the effeminate Buddhist kings and that the chiefs of forest tribes availed themselves of the good opportunity to establish themselves as kings in many of the Aryan kingdoms. This is confirmed by the following passages of the Vishoopurana (LV 24):—

"In Magadha, a sovereign named Vovasphatika, will establish other tribes; he will extripate the Kahatriya race and elevate tishermen, barbariana. Yadus. Pulindas, and Brahmaus to power. The nine Nagae will reign in Padmavati, Kantipuri and Madbura, A prince named Devardahita will reign in a city on the seashers over the Kosals, Odeas, Pandrakas and Tamraliptas.—Men of the three tribes, but degraded, and Abhiras, and Sudras will occupy Saurashtra, Avanti, Sora, Arbeila, and Marubhumi; and Sudras, and automates, and barbarians will be masters of the banks of the Indias, Darvika, the Chardrabhaga and Kashmira."

Thus almost all Aryan kingdoms from the Himala; as in the North to the Vindbya range in the South and from the Ludes in the West to the mouth of the Ganges in the East seem to have fallen again one after another into the hands of Dravidian races in the conflict between the Brahmans and the Boddhist Kehatriyas during the post-Buddhistic period, while to the south of the Vindbya mountains the old Dravidians, the Cholas, Pandyas, and the Keralaputrus had all along continued to rule over their respective kingdoms unmolested and undisturbed by the Aryans. Historians of India seem to have scarcely

¹⁴⁴ Vincent Smith's History of India, pp. 273, 284, 287.

noticed how as a substratum of the revival of Brahmanism there appeared at the same time a real revival of Brahmanism rule in the whole of India. How far in this reassertion of Dravidian rule mutual compromise between the two civilizations, Dravidian and Aryan, was effected so far as their respective social, religious, and political customs are concerned, is a question that deserves careful study and investigation. It is probable that temple worship and car-processions in which Dravidian kings acted as the servants of gods worshipped in the temples were largely substituted for the Vedic assimal sacrifices and that all religious establishments were now placed under the approvision of the Brahmans.

The Brahmans seem to have considered themselves quite justified in the revolutionary step they had taken to replace the hostile Kelatriya rule by Dravidian rule. Accordingly in reply to the question of Yudhisthira as to "who would protect the Brahmans and their Vedas, if all the Kelatriyas proved hostile to the Brahmans; and what then should be the duty of the Brahmans and who would be their refuge," Blisma is made to say in the Mahabharata as follows:

¹⁹⁷ Sanci Rajalbarmaparen, Chop. 78.

them and blessed be they that thus lay down their lives in seeking to clustise the saemics of the Brahmans.

Be he a Sadra or he he a weather of any other order, he that becomes a raft on a raftless current or a means of crossing where means there are none, certainly deserves respect in every way. That person that dispels the fears of others always deserves respect. What use is there of bulls that would not hear burdens or of kine that would not yield milk or of a wife that is harren? Similarly, what need is there for a king that is not competent to grant protection?"

Again in Chapter 125 of the Rajadharmaparva Bhisma is made to say quoting the words of one called Kumanda in the same time as follows:—

"If the king does not restrain those wicked men of sinful conduct, all good subjects then live in tear of him like the inmates of a room in which a snake has concealed itself. The subjects do not follow such a king. Brahmans and all pions persons also act in the same way. As a consequence the king falls into great danger and ultimately deserves destruction itself. Men learned in the scriptures have indicated the following means for checking sin. The king should always decote himself to the study of the three Vedus; he should respect the Brahmans and do good offices only them. He should be devoted to righteowness. He should wait upon high-minded Brahmans adorned with the virtue of forgiveness."

Having thus elearly defined the position and the privileges of the Brahmans under the covived Dravidian rule, the politicians of the post-Kastilya period seem to have been equally careful in defining the rights and prerogatives of the monorchs also in the reformed polity. From the dawn of the Vedre period down to the commencement of the Kantilya period, no attempt seems to have been

made to divinize a ruler's person or his rights. Such Vedie records as refer to his expulsion and restoration, on the contrary, go to show that he was regarded merely as a man under the power of the priestly oligarely on the one hand and of the people's assembly on the other. The custom of Nivoga or deputing a neighbouring king to beget a prince on a sonless widowed queen 1 * seems to have rendered such a claim inconsistent with his birth. In the theory of Kantilya, the king is merely an aerident : he may be high-born or base-born, 197 a fendatory chief \$40 or a colonizer, yal destined to be either a prince or a purper. So long as he is a king, he is a rewarder like Indm and punisher like Yama in virtue of his possession of Indra-Yamaethana 2+2; so he deserves respect. Whatever might be his birth, he should addere to the costoms of the Aryas and the rules of classes and religious divisions. 304 He must be guided by his Brahman ministers and must follow the procepts of the Sastras. 11 * Kantilya seems to have regarded the Sudras arming the Arras and contracted them with the Mischelias, or non-Aryan people. 20.5 It follows therefore that he considered even Sucha kings as Aryan kings practising Aryan customs. As caste-system with its exclusive rights of connubium and commensality has not as yet made its appearance during the Lautilya period, it follows that any one could then become a Brahman or a Kahatriya or a Valsya in virtue of exercising the duties assigned to those respective classes. Whatever might be

ter Arthu. V. 6.

[&]quot; Antha, XIII.

^{:-} Arths. VIII 11.

For Arthu, L. 18.

^{***} Post, L L. R. C.

ALL PROPERTY.

to a Thod, 131, 138

¹⁰⁰ Action 1.9: VI. L.

the opinion of scholars on this particular question regarding the existence or absence of rigid casts system in the fourth century B.C., this much is certain that neither during the Vedic period nor in the times of Kautilya, divine birth or right of kings means to have been thought of. Then it was either elective or hereditary monarchy entirely under the power of the prestly ofigureby and the peoples' assembly; or it was a republic of clans or the Dhamna-chakka or the kingdom of righteousness of the Buddhists. During the times of the empire-building politicians when the old Dravidians were given facilities to regain their royal power, it was again the Brahman priest *** and the assembly of ministers **** (Mantesparishad) that were expected to exercise some check over the revival Dravidian rule.

This unified yet brave operari, a more flag in the hands of his ministers, as termed by Kautilya, and seems to have been tooked open as being too low-born to fill up the high place he was called to eccepy. To make up for this want the later politicists of India soom to have invented and developed the idea of divine bitch and right of kings as size yet soo to royal power. Accordingly the king is declared as an internation of derties by Manu and other later Smriti writers. This is what Manu says in V. 26-7:

"A king is an incurration of the eight guardian deities of the world, the Moon, the Fire, the Sun, the Wind, Indra, the Lords of Wealth and Water (Kubera and Varona), and Yama. Because the king is pervaded by those lords of the world, no impurity is ordained for him; for purity and impurity of mortals is caused and removed by those lords of the world."

delm, 1.9; Vi. l.

ter fluid, V. 6

Again in VII. 4-5 Manu says in support of the divine birth and right of kings more explicitly in the following words:—

"Taking (for the purpose of creating a king) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Vama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuna, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera), the Lord created a king. Because a king has been formed of particles of those lords of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in lastre. Like the Sun he burns eyes and hearts, nor can any body on earth even gaze on him. ... Even an infant king must not be despised (from the idea) that he is a more mortal, for he is a great deity in homan form."

This picture of a king being a deity in human form, as drawn by Manu is the above venes, should be contracted with the picture of a king, portrayed as a mere mortal in the Vedas and the Arthumstra. I can conceive no other reason for this emiden change of ideas about the right of kings than the no exity of biding the law birth of restored Dravidian kings of the Buddhistin period and of strengthening their mysl power or so to be able to goard the interest of the Brahmans. This is purely a Brahmanic conception consistent with their theistic religion. Neither Jaimson nor Buddhism would possibly entertain such theistic notions consistent with their agnostic faith, or the kingdom of rightenesness based upon the equality of individual rights, he he a prince or paoper. While in the Brahmanie conception of political justice or injustice, the king was held answerable to god Varona for all his unjust acts and was accordingly compelled to pay a line to Varuna and distribute it among Brahmans in expiation of his wrong deeds 200 the Buddhists seem to have held the king-

directly responsible to the people for all his acts and taken. the law in their own hands in dealing with an erring king. Accordingly we are told in the Jatakas?"" of kings put to death for outraging a woman (II. 1221-3), for ingratitude (1. 326), for outlangering life (III. 574), for attempting to make a mentice of a proce, or reprimateled and corrected (VI. 155) for developing cannihalistic tastes (V. 470), or for not taking steps to avert a drought, as narrated in the Vessantara Jataka (487.5) or for causing famines by his mirighteons acts (II. 124; 568). This kind of treatment of kings on naturalistic basis or on a footing of equality with redinary people would by no means be in harmony with class or individual superiority and special births and progratives. Hence in the interests of their own privileges and consistently with their theirtic conception, the Brahmans seem to have desinized royally irrespective of its birth and mee.

There is no doubt this innovation rendered monarchy still more despetic and freed it from all popular check it had till then. Still the same religion which elevated the monarch and enabled him to enjoy his privileges, lesides conferring them in cashes and creeds in his own interests seems to have been used also to prevent him from all acts corighteous in the view of the Brahmans. In addition to the theistic threats and dangers which were used to keep him at hay, there were also political threats and dangers due to court intrigue which kept him in constant apprehension of danger to his position and life. Thus though the credit of having established a theoretic despotism with these safe checks is clearly due to the politicians of the post-Buddhistic period, still, if deeply considered, the credit or blame for this

^{70&}quot; See Principal Sublin Rao's the Jatakas and Judine Polity.

change seems to have rested with people themselves. It may be taken for granted that no statesman or politician can rise far above the excumstances of his time and suceeed in instituting a good or bad measure against the will of the people at large. He most take into his coustderation the prevailing sentiments and views of the people before taking steps to introduce any change in the social, religious, or political combitions of the yeaple. If the time is ripe for his experiment, he will succeed in it, but if unrice, he will containly be thwarted in his attempts and will atterly fail. Hence it is the intellectual and spiritual advancement of the people themselves that is responsible for the success or failure of any social or political change introduced among them.

The early Dravidian settlers of India who, connetent with their totemistic religions views, warshipped stones, teen, ricers, surposts and wild beauty neem to have been atterly disadisfied with the high morality of the agreetic homanitarian religion of the Jainus and the Hoddhists. and gladly welcomed the theistic religion of the Brahmans who is their turn look the opportunity to enlarge and bring to the forefront their Tantrie and Agamie cult of Atharvanie origin. At the same time the Brahmans seem to have given up the old customs of internarriage and interdining with other classes and reformed and recast their religion on philosophic basis, as taught in the L'oanishade. While the Tantric cult with its animal offerings is termed Vamachara, left-hand practice, the philosophic religion of the Upanishads was called the Dakshinachara or righthand practice.

Thus the chief features of the Brahmanic revival are: (1) the revival of the Dravidians, and (2) their Tantric religion in Brahmanie gyrb, (8) the revival of Sanskrit literature and impuage, (4) establishment of theorratic

despotism with theistic checks and Brahmanic power at the background, (5) decline and fall of Jainism and Buddhism, and (6) the formation of castes. It should be noted that attended though they might appear with sanguinary deeds, all these changes deserve to be termed evolutionary, having for their basis a general permanent mental change among the people at large, as contrasted with revolutionary reforms based upon a temperary whimsical change in the mental look-out of a few individuals. While a revolutionary change disappears with its vulent authors, evolutionary changes persist till a general change occurs in the sentiments and ricers of the people at large due to education or to the preaching of reformers.

LECTURE X

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE, INTELLEC-TUAL, SPIRITUAL AND ECONOMICAL

In the rapid bird's eve view we have taken of the most important changes that had taken place in the social. religious, and political condition of the Aryan settless in India shreing the long stretches of time commencing from the Vedic period down to the fall of Buddhism, I have dwelt at length only on the political changes, reserving the intellectual and economical vicissitudes in the condition of the people for committeestion, in a separate paper. Properly speaking, there can be no political change unless it is proceeded by vast intelligetial, agar itual and economical changes in the condition of the people. Attention has already been drawn to the radical changes which Jainism and Buddhism bad wronght out on the social, moral and religious views of the people, engendering equally lasportant political changes in consequence. The intellectual and remonical changes that were intermoven with the above changes were ac less in magnitude. The marvellous progress which Vedic and Buddhirt India has made in education is so well knows and treated of in detail by so many learned scholars that any attempt on my part to talk of the Votic poets, the authors of the Brahmans and the Kaljusutras, the graumarians, the logicians, the philosophers, the opic writers, the poets and others is merely a sheer waste of time. Instead of wasting my time in boasting of India's educational monuments and pyramids, I think I may do better in drawing your attention to some of the broad principles which characterised the educational

policy of the Brahmanie Jaim and the Buddhist hierarchy or clergy. It is to be noted that ancient India knew neither government schools and colleges nor aided institutions with professors poid for their teaching and students paying for their learning. Education was free and for all. It was a sin to sell or purchase education. It was as a sucred duty of the student to go to his family-priest or any other teacher in quest of hearning as it was of the teacher to impact education on the subject sought for. There were no boarding houses. The student had to beg his food and remain a backelor as long as he studied. It was the duty of the bouseholders also to give a buildful of cooked rice to each of the begging students, however large the number might be. Completion of education marked the period of marriage.

Sacred as was the duty of teaching and learning, no subject, whether Vedic or Puranic, seems to have been considered so sacrad so to prochade if on early consideration; for there were no eastes in Vedic and Buddhistic India, Women and Sudras who had been precluded fater from Vedic studies bad during the Vedir period to learn at least such Vedic bymps as they had to recite on secasions of unritiors, 110 Nishadas and Vratyas had the right to proform sacrifices and learn the necessary sacrificial hymns and formulas. In spite of Badamyana's forgenious explanation of the word Sudra 111 as an epithet indicating grief in Jamasruti in IV. 2, 5 of the Chhandogyo-panishad, I am inclined to believe that Janusruti was a king of the Sudra class and that Rackva, a Brahman philosopher of the time, bad no hesitation or scruples in teaching him the Vedantie philosophy, as required. When at a later period

are Arral Grilge, III. 4, 4.

¹⁾ Vedanta Satrai, 1.3, 34.

women and Sodras were precluded under the baneful influence of eastes from the study of the Vedas and Upanishads in the original, Puranie and other literary works embodying the sacred ideas of the Vedas and the Uranishads were written specially in their interests. Likewise the Jainas and the Buddhists taught and wrote their rotigion and morality in the Prakritic or Dravidian languages solely for the benefit of the people at large. While higher education was imparted through the medium of either Sanskrit or Prakrit, primary and secondary education seem to have been carried on in the vernacular languages of the learners themselves. Sanskrit was, as it still now is, the literary language of the Brahmans and Prakrit of the Magadhi type the spoken and literary language of the Jainas and the Buddhists. Neither the Brahmans nor the Jaims and the Buddhists seem to have been sparing in their efforts to improve the vocabulary of the innemerable languages of the continent of India so as to remier each of them a lit vehicle to convey higher soientile itless. The magnitude of the trouble which the Brahman-, the Jainue and the Huddhists had taken to improve the various Dravidian languages can be easily perceived if an attempt is made to reduce the list of the words proper to each of the veroscular by removing the large number of Samkrit and Prakrit words imported into each. This task, gigantic though it may be, will be of immerse bely in preparing an estimate of the comparative indebtedness of the civilizations, the Dravidian and Aryan, to each other. It is likely that without earing for such troublesome questions as Eastern Education, Western Education, National Education and the like which are more likely easily asked, than answered, the Dravidinos carnestly took themselves to study and assimilate the new seventille ideas of the Aryan invaders. Thus in employing two languages as the medium of

instruction, one for higher and another for primary education, modern India has evidently adopted the same procedure that assisted India had of old followed.

But so far as the carrieulum of studies and the method of improving education are conserved, ancient India seems to have excelled modern India. Her curriculum was simpler and more adapted to the needs of the student, while her method of imparting education was catechistical and quite suited to the varying intellectual calibre, asthetic tendency or aptitude of the learners. The primary course expected to be completed before the student was invested with the sacred thread consisted of reading, writing (lini) and arithmetic (nonthpane); while the secondary and higher course comprised: (1) the Vodas, together with enous, such as phonetics, corononial injunctions, grammar, glamary of worth, prousely, and astronomy, (2) Sankhya Yoga, and Lokayata, (5) Agriculture, pattle-breeding, and trade, (4) and the science of polity, 211 (5) Military arts and history, specially for the Kshatriyas.

While the subjects of the primary course seem to have been compulsory, it appears that students were allowed the option of selecting one, many or all of the subjects in the secondary and higher courses according to their individual capacity and taste. Though the art of writing, which, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere, was an indigenous invention, was known in India so far back as the 17th century before Christ, manuscripts available for study seem to have been very few. Hence students seem to have been obliged to depend on the retentive capacity of their memory for their success in learning. It appears that the student was taught a verse, half of a verse or quarter of a verse or an aphorism or two to

begin with and that when he was found to have digested its meaning and the reasoning by "hearing over and over again what he could not clearly understand,213 he was allowed to continue his studies in the same way till the subject was completed. The one excellent feature of the curriculum, worth of being noticed, is the inclusion in it of such most useful subjects as agriculture, cattle-breading, and trade. Whether our modern curriculum may or may not be so recast as to contain more of agricultural or industrial acts and less of geography and history both in the primary and secondary courses, is a question that seems to be deserving of consideration by educationists.

It appears strange that in spite of her despetie rule, lack of easy communication, and anarchical tendency of the people addicted to constant plotting against wellestablished governments, which rendered it more necessary to prohibit the study of political and military sciences in those time than is modern India with her standing army, well-organised police and other powerful protective means, ancient India included in her curriculum of studies such dangerous subjects as political and military sciences to be studied by all at their option.

Another excellent characteristic feature of her educational policy was her estechnical method of teaching as efficiently as possible a fixed number of students one after another by a single teacher. There can be no difference of opinion on the defect of the modern method of entrustting to a single lecturer or professor the work of teaching to classes consisting of more than 50 to 100 stadents of varying mental calibra. The svils of imparting education on class-system seem to have been felt even so far back as the 7th or 5th century 1 11 and the other failure of instructing

a class of even three students is thus depicted by Bhavabluti in the second Act of his Uttararama Charita (Act 11.4);—

"A teacher imports knowledge equally to the intelligent and dull neither does he sharpen the grasping power of one, one blunt that of another. Yet as regards the result there is vast different. I is this: a clear gent has the power of receiving light and reflecting it, but a clod of earth has not."

It is matter for delight that unlike our modern orthodox community, ancient Aryans held in high esteem all kinds of education, no realter from what source and through what medium it had to be acquired. While they were ready to impart to Sudras and women whatever they know, ''' they were not at all little to supplement their study by learning whatever the latter in their turn could impart to them. This is confirmed by the following statement made by Apastamba in his Dharma Sutra (II, 11, 29, 11-12):—

"The knowledge which Sodras and women possess is the completion of all study. They declare that this knowledge is a supplement of the Athacxayeda." According to Haradatta, and the communicators on Apastamba, the knowledge which women and Sodras possess is dancing, music, and other branches of the Arthasastra. Since medicine and witch-craft form the subject matter of the Athacvayeda to a large extent, it is probable that women and Sodras had as much knowledge of these subjects as they have even now.

Another excellent feature of the education system of ancient India is the rigorous discipline to which students

[&]quot; Asral Gray, HI 4. a.

¹ Maria, 11, 230-242.

were subjected in all their movements, social, religious, and educational. No period in the history of India seems to have been more meongenial for the formation of individual character than Vedic and post-Vedic age with its promiseuity among women, lasity of marriage tie, religious free thinking, emenage, and snarchical tendency among the people at large; and yet no system of education was more adapted for the exercise of regornes discipline over the conduct of students and for the formation of character than the system of Garukulavasam, according to which the student was required to live with the teacher and observe the rules of the education code to the very letter. *** Character seems to have been considered as a moral trait. of personal bearing partly inherited and partly acquired. *1.1 In spite of their attachment to the theory of political expediency or the employment of means, fair or foul, to achieve an end with no attention to its moral aspect, Kautilya and other politicians seem to have considered character as mac-yea-ass of the well-being of mankind, not merely social and religious, but also political well-being. In the view of -Kantilya lack of character in a man, he he a king or prince, priest or prime minister, servant or spy, spelled rain to the whole state. Hence not content. with the usual four texts of character, bearing on the four human pursuits, virtus, wealth, love, and spirituality, as marrated in the Arthusactra (I. 10), Knotilya advices the king to let losse a swarm of spies to watch and report on the evil deads of men and women, irrespective of their class, creed and occupation.

There is no doubt that there were special treatises on agriculture, industry and trade, which formed part of the corrientum of studies. They are termed Krishitantra,

With Apr. L. D. Tand L. T. R.

⁻¹¹ Arthu, L. 17.

(agricultural science), gulmavrikshayurveda (botany), Sulabbadhatusastra (metallurgy), and panyavyavaham (trade-regulations). Having thus received necessary training in these professions, people seem to have engaged themselves other in agriculture or industrial works according to their taste. There is evidence to believe that the art of measuring the quantity of rainfall was known¹¹ and that no agricultural operations were undertaken without accordance the quantity of rainfall necessary for the cultivation of various crops. That account kings paid special attention and care to agriculture and industry, they being the chief source of revenue to their states is evident from the following humane rules of Kantilya:—

- "(1) Lands prepared for cultivation shall be given to taxpayers only for life; and unprepared lands shall not be taken from these who are preparing them for cultivation.
 - "(2) Lands may be confinented from those who do not properly cultivate them.
 - "(3) The king shall bestow on cultivators material help and remission of taxes and treat with fatherly kindness those who have passed the period of remission of taxes.
 - "(4) He shall carry on mining operations and manufactures and exploit timber and elephant forests, offering facilities for cattle-breeding and trade, constructing roads for traffic both by land and water, and setting up market towns.
 - "(5) He shall also construct reservoirs filled with water either perennial or drawn from some other source.

⁻¹⁷ Artha, Il. S.

Cot Arthu, 11 24.

- "(6) The king shall exercise his right of ownership with regard to fishing, ferrying, and trading in vegetables in reservoirs or lakes.
- "(7) Ehlers among the villagers shall improve the property of hereaved miners till they attain their age; so also the property of gods.
- "(5) There shall be in villages no buildings intended for sports and plays. Nor shall actors, dancers, singers and other bands of amusements enter into villages and disturb the villagers from their constant field work.
- "(9) The king shall protect agriculture from the molestation of courtiers, of workmen, of robbers, of boundary guards, and of stray cattle.
- "(10) He shall set apart pasture grounds for grazing cattle," ":"

Attention has already form ileawn to the attempts of assoint kings to colonize waste lands by employing wealthy persons as tributary shiefs or Viceroys over the proposed colony.

thesides agriculture, some industrial undertakings such as mining, exploitation of forests, liquor-manufacture, weaving, cattle-breeding, and coining seem to have been carried on under state supervising aim in addition to private enterprise. Though mining, weaving and other industrial operations were undertaken by ancient states as a profitable concern, they seem to have also served the purpose of poor-houses opened for the relief of the poor and the helpless. This is continued by the following statement of the Arthasastra (II. 23)—

"Those women who do not stir out of their houses, those whose husbands are gone abroad, and those who are cripple or girls may, when obliged to work for subsistence.

[&]quot; Anda, H. I and 2.

be provided with work (spinning out threads with due courtesy through maidservants of the weaving establishment."

In this way ancient kings seem to have relieved themselves of unnecessary expenditure of state-revenue in discharging the obligatory duty of providing for the maintenance of the orphans, the agod, the infirm, and helpless women (Arthu, H. 1).

Much doubt is entertained as to the existence of coined money in Vedic India. Satamana, 224 Krishnala 222 Nichica and other Vedic words which in later literature signify coins of specific weight and form are taken to mean weights and ornaments in the Vedic. 222 The table of coins is thus stated in Smriti literature (Smritichandrika, Vol. III, p. 230) .—

- 3 Barley corns ... 1 Krishnala
- 5 Krishnalas ... I Masha
- I 16 Mashas ... = I Sevarea
 - + Suvarnas . 1 Pala or Nielsku
 - 10 Pales = 1 Dharana
 - Sciolonias = 1 Silver Masha
- H 16 Mashas . = . Dharana or parana
 - 10 Dharanas ... = ... I Silver Salaman or Nishka

III 1 Copper pana or Kareliapana = 1 Pala of silver.

There is no doubt that trade in Vedic India was largely carried on by bartering commodities (Rig., IV. 24, 10), settling the price in terms of a caw, taken as a unit of value or Rups. In Rigreda VIII, 1, 5 a picture or image of India is offered in sale for ten cows. Still

[&]quot; Satarolles, XII. 7, 2, 13 ; 9, 1, 4.

⁷⁰ Tai Br. L. S. S. 7.

^{***} Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 496-97.

there is no reason to deny that in the Vedic period a beginning was made to fix the price of commedities in terms of Krishnalas or Nishkas, as in those of a cow, and pave the way for the introduction of gold and silver currency at a later period. From this it may be inferred that eninage of money was at the outset a mercantile device and become at a later period state monopoly on account of its being a profitable somes of revenue to the state in the form of discount and commission and other charges. *** Whether the art of coining money was Babylonian convention or Indian is a question which I have reserved for future investigation.

Being coeval with division of labour, trade was a social necessity and was carried on with little or no restrictions imposed upon it by kings; or in other words it was free trade. The policy of fair or protective trade came later. As already pointed out, monarchy began with the right to levy a tax on agriculture and trade for the purpose of meeting the necessary expenses of the government. As the machinery of the government became more and more complex, kings began to expand the sources of the revenue by multiplying the number of taxes they had a right to impose on agriculture and trade. Even so far back as the 4th century B. C. politicians seem to have been divided in their opinion as to the desirability of having a free or protective trade policy. The difference of views on this reacd question which even now remains unsettled is thus referred to in the Arthasastra (VIII. 4):-

"My teacher says that of the 1 so, the Superintendent of the boundary and the teader, the former destroys traffic by allowing thieres and taking taxes more than he ought to, whereas the trader retalers the country prosperous by a favourable barter of commercial articles.

"No, says Kantilya: the Superintendent of the boundary increases traffic by welcoming the arrival of merchandise, whereas traders make in causing rise and fall in the value of articles, and live by making profits, cont. per cent. in passion Kumbhas (measures of grain)."

Thus Kaetiles was not merely a protectionist as opposed to his teacher who was a free-trader, but something more. He seems to have regarded trade as a necessary evil, for he terms traders as thieves (Artha., IV. 1):—

"Thus traders, artisans, musicians, beggars, buffoons and other idless who are thieves in effect though not in name shall be restrained from oppression on the country."

Again in IV. 4, he says :-

"There are thirteen kinds of criminals who, secretly attempting to live by foul means, destroy the peace of the country. They shall either be banished or made to pay an adequate compensation according as their quilt is light or agricus."

Who formed these thirtues knows of criminals is very difficult to determine. Among the followers of various professions of had repute mentioned in the fourth Adhi-karana of the Archaeastra, there are about eighteen persons whose movements are said to be closely matched. They are: (1) weavers, (2) washermen, (3) goldsmiths, (4) examiner of comes, (5) seavengers, (6) physicians, (7) musicians, (8) traders, (9) beggars, (10) buffoons, (11) false witnesses, (15) wizards, (13) poienners, (14) counterfest coiners, (15) robburs, (16) murderers, (17) judges and clerks given to bribery and (18) debauched persons.

All these eighteen classes have been termed distorbers of public peace (Kantaka); and the precautionary measures to be taken against them have been clearly stated in the 4th book of the Arthusastra. Thus restrictions against the freedom of the people in their agricultural, industrial or commercial pursuits seem to have varied with the nature of the government, they being very few in the republican form of the government that prevailed from the Vedic down to the Kautilya period. It may be asserted without fear of contradiction that subsequent to the Kautilya period, the people of India and to contend against various restrictions against their reconomical pursuits and that inspite of those restrictions, they had not much disturbance in their enjoyment of plenty and peace. The three essential factors confinered to a nation's plenty, peace and accurity are the active industrial habits of the people, their religious morality and the government. The first two, industry and religion, set and react upon each other. Honest industry promotes hopest religious or moral thinking and the honest and self-denying tenets of a religiou such as those of Jainism and Buildhism tend to make the people more contented than prolitering industrial pursuits and help the government in governing the people with little or no friction. It is the pure religious fervour of the people that enabled the kings of the Vedic. and Buddhistic periods to commend security within and to concentrate their attention against enemies without. I believe that it is the same religious ferrone that has contributed to the preservation of the peace in India during the recent four years' horrible conflagration in Europe.

Laxity in morality and religion produces immeral and licentious proceedings, and renders the government more and more despotie. Thus the decline of Jainism and Buddhism remarked by use of despotic governments in India, as a self-preserving measure.

APPENDIX A

125 ELECTION OF KINGS AND DELEGATION OF SOCKERSIONTY

Besides the discussion of scientific and sacrificial subjeets, political subjects such as land-disputes, criminal complaints, cases of gambling, election of kings, war and peace questions and the like seem to have engaged the attention of the members of the religious and political assembly. From Vaj. S., XX. 17 where the poet prays to be absolved from the sin he and his companions might have committed in village or in wild, assembly or corporeal come, to a Sudra or Arres or to either's deadvantage,"? ?! it appears that the political seembly was guilty of giving wrong judgments in some cases, especially against the Sudras and the agricultural people. As a supreme judicial organ of the state, the assembly seems to have had powers not merely to confineste the loud and other property of a citizen or to expel the head of a family (Taitt. S., III. 4, 8, 5-6) evidently for misconduct, but also to degrade a king to the mark of the common people or of the clan of nobles, as implied in the following passage of the Nidson Sutra (VII. 10) :-

"The sacrifice to be performed for the prosperity of a Vaisya is the next. They say that this is for the prosperity of a Vaisya who, as an ordinary noble, is inclined to attain sovereignty. But Sandilya adds to this the rite of installation with anointment, thinking that this is a sacrifice for the prosperity (restoration) of a noble (rajnah)

[&]quot; Moltra S. 1V 7. 4

^{::} Cy. Matre S. J. 10, 2; Chlandogya, V. 36.

who, on account of his reckless foolbandiness and habiteal addiction to gambling, has retired."

Also the custom of delegating sovereign power to the Adhvaryu priest for two years during a horse-sacrifice undertaken by aurient kings is a far more reliable evidence that the king was entirely at the mercy of the peoples' assembly and especially of the priestly class. The delegation of royal power to the Adhvaryu priest is thus stated in the Bodhayana Srauta Sutra (XV. 4):—

"Here (in the horse-sacrifice), those who amoint a Kehntra as the king amoint the Adhvaryu (in his stead). He (the Kahatriya king) says—'O Brahmans and princes, the Adhvaryu will be the king these two years; obey him; whoever does not obey him, the whole property of him they will confiscate.' Accordingly the Adhvaryu is the king these two years."

Apastamba (XX.2, 12; 3, 1-2) also says the same thing, but makes no mention of any penalty for disobsidience:—

"He (the king) hands over the kingdom to the Adhvaryo; and says, 'O Brahmans and princes, this Adhvaryo is your king; whatever loyal respect is due to me, the same from you may be shown to him; whatever he does by you (or to you), the same shall be considered as authoritatively done to you. As long as the sacrifice lasts, the Adhvaryo becomes the king."

Confiscation of property some to have been one of the usual penalties meted out for political offences; for Bothayana lays down the same punishment to be inflicted on a person who, disregarding the royal proclamation, lets out mares to mingle with the sacrificial borse that is let out to roam about 2.2.7 at its will. From the delegation of royal

power to Brahmans it is clear that though the Kshatriyas were created for royal sway and for furnishing soldiers to protect the Iranian and Aryan settlements in India, royalty was not yet considered to be a monopoly of a class or family. There is evidence to believe that this delegation of royal power was prevalent prior to the split between the Devas and the Asuras, inasmoch as one of the sons of Virochana, an Asura king, is said to have performed a horse-sacrifice with Brahman present.



APPENDIX B.

SACRIFICIAL FASTING AS A FORM OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

Is all the conflicts, whether between man and man, or between the king and his people, or between the king and his some or wives, one of the most powerful weapon, successfully employed by the weak against the strong, seems to have been the yow of abstinence observed till death or till the removal of the cause of dispute, whichever might happen earlier. This yow's termed Atma-medha, self-immulation in the Kathaka Sambita and polympurchin in the epics and other later literary works, and it appears to have originated from the Vedie Vrata or the formal taking of the vow of abstineace, enjoined on all persons that undertake to perform a sacrifice. The day or days when this Vrata is observed are called Uravasatha or fast-days and the number of those fast-days may be one or more secording to the intention and capacity of the sacrificer. And in favour of those who are, however, incapable to observe the vew of abstinence in connection with any Vedic rite, an expiatory offering into the fire with the words 'Tvam Agni Ayasyayasan," " etc.,' is enjoined, It is likely therefore that the observance of the row of abstinence which forms part of all Vedic sacrifices inclusive of those sacrifices which are enjoined upon a people desirous to install, expel or restore a king or upon a king, desirous to surmount difficulties in collecting taxes from his refractory and turbulent subjects or in

^{12 *} Eksguikanda, I. 5, 18.

commanding obedience from his people, army or kinsmen or restoring order in his own or conquered country was converted as a most useful political weapon within the reach of all. The success or effectiveness of this form of passive resistance or threat depended upon the universal belief of the people of these days that the state, city or the house in which one or more persons, especially Brahmans, whether men or women, are allowed to starve to death either intentionally or otherwise will sooner or later come to ruin, and that those who are the causes of such deaths will be the worst singers and fall into the hell. This belief is found expressed in the beginning of the Kathopanishad 324 Here in atonement for the sinful act of allowing Nachiketas to fast for three days in the house of Yama, the king of the departed souls, in his absence, the latter is stated to have given to the former any three boons the guest might shoom. The Atmamolha szerilos is thus described in the Kathaka Sambita (20, 9) :-

"Having created all creatures, Prajapati found himself impoverished. He then discovered the eleven victims and offered them. So whoever hole himself impoverished should nearsh himself by offering (the eleven victims). He should effer these eleven victime in any sacrifice. Ten are the vital airs in man, and the soul is the eleventh. With these he nourishes all the constituents of his own being. Agai is made up of all the gods; with Agai's victim all the gods are therefore propitiated. The soul is Agai's victim. Speach is Sacasvati's victim; because it is Sacasvati's victim, he unites speech with the soul, making a couple thereby. Then Soma's victim: Soma is the bearer of the seed;

[&]quot; * Sec also Satspatha Bothonaya, 11, 1, 4, 2

verily it is the couple that bears the seed. Then the victim of Pushan: the beasts are such; verily it is Pushan that procreates. Then the victim of Bribaspati: Brahma is Bribaspati ; verily Brahms lords over the beasts. Then the victim of all-gods : these people belong to the all-gods ; these he unites with Brahma. Then the victim of Indra : the Kehatra or raling power is Indra; he places the Kshatra in lordship over the people. Then the victim of the Marats: the class belong to the Marats; the class he unites with the Roling power. Then the victim of Indra-and-Agni; verily splendour and power are Indra-and-Agni; he unites the clans with the Ruling power through spleadour and power. Then Savitri's victim is for procreation. Then Varuna's victim is for liberation. Prajagati under Varuna created all these beings. They all abandoned him and west up. He desired that they should be near him. So he performed a penance: he was about to wrote hard (atmanam medhiya alabhata). Then they approached him and were afmid of him; they bowed down; honce it is that all these beings move about stock to the earth; they all worshipped him bringing tobutes (bali), the earth with sacrificial ground, the herbs with mered grass, the waters with sprinkling water, the trees with offering sticks and stakes, the sheep and goats with beasts, with curd and ghi the cows; verily the gule are the givers of tributes. Prajapati is no other than sacrifice, to him all these bring tribute. Wheever knows that they bring him tribute (will attain happiness)."

Kathaka S. XXIX. 9.

The meaning of this passage, when divested of its technical obscurities, is this: whoever desires to attain an object surmounting all opposition should undertake the performance of any one of the sacrifices laid down in

the Vedas and instead of taking the trouble of procuring the goat and other eleven sacrificial victims appropriate to the eleven gods, Agni, Sarasvin, Soma, Pashan, Brihaspati, the All-gods, Indea, the Marats, Indra-and-Agni, Savitri, and Vacuna, he should sacrifice himself as a fit victim, apparently by fasting, composed as he is of eleven parts, the ten vital airs and the soul, corresponding to the eleven sacrificial victims, after the manner of the Atma-medha performed by Prajapati when he found himself deserted by the offspring of his own creation. It is taken for granted that his opponents would be terrified and would help him to attain his desired object in the same way as the world did towards Prajapati.

There can be no doubt that the Atms-medba form of passive resistance was invented by the Vedic poets to check the licentions proceedings of some of their Asses kings. While from Kathaks, V. 6, where a poet prays wishing plenty of food, people and wealth, wide imperial away and a good assembly to an Asura king, we are given to understand that there were some good Asura kings, another passage from the same Sambita (XII. 2) describes the Asserss as limentious (Manasystarab) and prescribes a sacrifice under the name Sangrahana, capturing. in view of captivating the mind of the Asurus. Besides using self-immolation, the Vedic Aryans seem also to have had recourse to the policy of divide et impera by preferring Mitra-worshippers to Varuna-worshippers (Kathaka S., XXI. 10; Maitra S., III, 10) and vice nered, or by honouring Indra more than Varun and rice reval (Taitt. S., VI. 6, 5) in view of replacing in the kingdom a Varuna-worshipper by an Index-worshipping bing, or putting the people against the king ! 5) and erce cered. This

^{23 |} Maitra S., 11 1, 9; 111, 3, 10 | Tant. S., II, 2, 11 : Kathaka S., XXI. 10; XXIX 8.

passive resistance, usually undertaken to defeat an oppopent in a civil dispute, 232 to recover a had debt, or inheritance, 133 to compel a king to change his unjust attained? 21 or to withdrawan unjust imposition, 2.35 to expel a tyrannical king, 186 minister 131 or official, to put down rebellion of the people against the king, * * to restore a banished king, * * to reclaim a king from his wicked habits," " to avert premature deaths due to the sinful acts of a king, it or to open the eyes of a stubbern opponent to his reckless attitude," " or to avert an impending punishment 142 or public slander or contempt, is found resorted to not merely by the weak, but also the strong prior to active retribution. * 14 From Rajalarangini VI. 14, it appears that agrient kings used to send spice to find out, and report voluntary cases of prhyopavesa or facting to death and he refrom such grievances as were the causes of these long fasts. It is probable that Knikeri's success in her attempt to prevail upon Dargraths to send Rama in banishment and sustal Rhavata, her own son, in his place, is due to her threat of committing micide by starvation. There can be no doubt that in those far off days when men speciely shaddered at the mere thought of

[&]quot; Thitt. B. II 2. 3.

³⁴⁴ Artha Sastra, V. I (p. 238 Trans.) : Tailt. S., HI, I, S.

⁷⁸ A. V. V. 18

⁴²⁷ A. V., 111 20, 580.

AND A 222 TRIES S., 13 . 5, 17 . 111. 4, 8; Rejetsmengeni, V. 409.

¹²¹ A. V. VII. 94.

¹²⁸ A.V., L 20

was The story of Assersages, see of Segara.

²⁺¹ Fide the story of Sambluka in Bemarana.

Bamayana Yndeliskninks, Chap. 21.

^{**} Ind. Kirkindhikanda, Chap 55.

²⁴⁴ Cf. Rajatarangini, IV. 82, 99; V. 468; V.L. 23, 339, 343; VII. 18, 1988, 1157, 16(1) VIII. 51, 110, 656, 706, 766, 808, 237, 2224, 2733, 2789.

their being the cause of human death by starvation, the prhyopavesa form of passive resistance proved a most effective weapon in the hand of the weak and the oppressed against their wicked oppressors, and that that power was also misured on a number of oceanions. But with the advance of science and scientific religious thoughts the sentimental basis and handle of this effective weapon have long been shattered, and blown to the wind and the resumption of this form of passive resistance in the name of Satyagraha now is nothing but a suicidal attempt at rebuilding a rained eastle on a sandy ground with no solid foundation to stand on. Equally useless sorms to be the refusal on the part of the people to pay taxes and supply men for the army as much as the same form of resistance on the part of the people, on the one hand, and the attempt on the part of the king's officers to put down the resistance, on the other, seem to have occasioned much bloodshed even in those far-off days of Kautilya. 144

APPENDIX C.

STATE-DWSESSOIP OF LASIS

One of the most interesting of the fundamental political principles that deserves our aftention here is the question relating to king's or emperor's right of ownership of land and man. This is an important question that has long been exercising the minds of statesmen and politicians all the world ever and has not yet been definitely settled. The question is whether an emperor or his feedal chief can justly claim and exercise his right of ownership. over the land and men in his empire or state. This has been answered in two different ways. The Minianakas or the school of the Vedic exceptice headed by Jaimini hold that neither an emperor (Shrvabhauma) nor a feudal chief (Mandalika) is justified in exercising any right of ownership over the state had or his people, whether father, mother or children or his servants. They say that he is only entitled to a fixed share of revenue in kind in virtue of his protective care and that the land and other natural things of the state are common to all. This is the conclusion arrived at by Jaimini and his commentators who have discussed the point in all its bearings (Mimansaka Sutras, VI. 7, 2).

Quite opposed to this is the view held by Kantilya, the author of the Arthusfistra. He says for example, that the king shall exercise his right of ownership with regard to fishing, ferrying, and trading in vegetables in reservoirs or lakes (II. 1); that besides collecting revenue, the king shall keep as a state composely both mining and commerce

(II. 12); and in view of justifying the levy of an extrawater-tax (II. 24) his commentator, Bhattasvâmi, quotes a verse in which the state-ownership of land and water is clearly mentioned. The verse runs as follows:—

"Those who are well versed in the Sastras admit that the king is the owner of both land and water and that the people can only exercise their right of ownership over all other things except these two." (P. 144, Eug. Trans.)

The view that is held by the Mimansakas seems to be the view that is still current in the transactions of the villagers in India: whenever they sell a piece of land, they declare in the bond the transfer of eight kinds of enjoyment, such as (1) midhi (treasure-trove), (2) nikebepa (deposit hidden in the earth), (3) water, (4) trees, (5) stones, (6) lighmi, anything that may come in future, (7) sanchits, anything that is standing, and (5) Akshina, imperishable. This declaration is evidently appoind to the view held by Kantilya and other later politicians who held that any treasure-trave contained in the earth, any deposit of money and the like someraled in the earth, and salt and other minerals together with water are what the king alone can justly claim as his property.

As the Mimhusaka view of land-tenure is in agreement not merely with the history of social evolution all the world over, but also with the nature of the political constitution which obtained in India during the Vedic and the Behtmanic periods, the historical importance of Jaimini's view on this question cannot be overvalued. Hence I add here below my own translation of the Sutras of Jaimini together with their commentaries by Parthasarathi Miera:

The sutras (VI. 7. 2) are thus commented upon by Parthasarathi Misra:—

It is declared in the Vedas that in the Vievajit sacrifice the sacrificer makes a gift of all that is his own. There

as to the doubt whether even the sognates that are design nated by the word 'sva,' 'one's own,' are to be given over or only such wealth as he can claim to be his own, it may be asserted that in the absence of particularisation, all that is implied by the word 'syn,' one's own, should be given over; for it is possible to render father and others subservient to others; the act of bringing a thing under the ownership of another man is what is meant by a gift, hence father and others should also be given over .- But it is not so; evidently they cannot be made over as a gift, in as much as a gift in the real sense of the word means 'the relinquishing of soc's ownership of a thing and the placing of it under the ownership of another'; accordingly (a father cannot be given over). for a father cannot become no-father, though he is given over. But only that which can be called one's own in virtue of his exercising his right of lordship over it can be given over as a gift; for, when such a thing is gifted, the original owner gets rid of his ownership and the doore acquires it. Also the word ' ava,' one's own,' means in virtue of its diverse significant power 'self,' 'one's own,' 'cognates,' and 'wealth.' Of these several meanings, it means a single particular meaning in a particular context. Since among the mounings it is only wealth that forms a proper article of gift, the word 'eva' is here used only in that seuse. Bunce only wealth, but not father and others.

As to the question whether that which is the broad earth should be gifted or not, the holder of the prind force view speaks of it as an article of gift, thinking that it is the wealth of the emperor. But this is no one's property (sva). Consisting as it does in the protection of, and the removal of the weeked from, his state, sovereignty (rhiya) means the collection of taxes from the agriculturists and others and of fines from the guilty

(dandya); this much is the relation (between the king and his state), but no lerd-hip or ownership (scamitva). Hence no emperor shall make a gift of the broad earth, nor a feudal chief his feudal hand.

As to the doubt, whether a Sides who attends upon a master as his servant is view of doing the religious duty should be given over as a gift or not, it may be said that he should be given over, in as much as it is inclusively favoured by the spithet "all" and also it is possible to render him subservient to another. But as there is no master's ownership with reference to him and as there is the possibility of disliks on his part to accept subserviency to another, he should not be given over.—But a slave (dása) may after all be given over as a gift.

In the seventh discourse of his Vivada-bhangaraava, 112
Jagaanatha Turkapanehanaes agrees with the Mimmonakas in the view that the king = no owner of the land and is entitled only to certain amount of tox on it, the culticator of the land being by time-himmend custom its real owner with right of alienation. The context in which he states this view is the sale of a slave girl by one of many brothers in the boxes of each of whom she is made to work in turn, as agreed open during the time of the division of inheritance. The slave woman is compared to the land which may change hands by sale. The translation of the text is as follows:—

Bribaspati says that a single woman should be made to work in each house (i.e., the bouse of each of the brothers) according to the share of inheritance.—Well, there arises a doubt here whether the slave woman should or should not go to work up the appointed lays in the houses of other brothers, if she is sold to a stranger by one of the brothers

^{***} A 284, Manuscript, Government Oriental Library, Mysors.

on the day when she had to work in the seller's housewe reply thus: the purchaser has acquired the same kind of property right in her that the seller had in her before selling. Hence the purchaser has right to command her service only for as many days as she attended on her seller by turns in the middle of each month. It is also for this reason that in the kingdom (country) parchased by a king, his right of possession of the country extends only to the collection of taxes on it; and at the same time there remains the right of ownership vested in the cultivator, in virtue of which he is entitled to the produce, Hence also the claim of a cultivator who cultivates a piece of land and enjoys the produce after paving tax. due to the king, to its ownership is admitted on all hands. Hence it is that when the owner of the land sells the land, the perchaser acquires the same right of ownership in virtue of which he is entitled to its enjoyment after paying the taxes due to the king ; and that the cultivator's ownership of the land is never denied, as such denial is quite opposed to easton (vyavahāra). Accordingly since various kinds of ownership with regard to a single property are accepted, it must be presumed that claims of two different persons to the same kind of ownership with regard to a property are opposed to each other.

